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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH REVOLUTION.

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BRITISH REVOLUTION.

HISTORY

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH REVOLUTION
OF
1688-9;

RECORDING ALL THE EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THAT TRANSACTION,

IN

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND,

DOWN TO THE

Capitulation of Limerick,

IN 1691,

IN THE LAST OF THESE KINGDOMS, INCLUSIVE.

By **GEORGE MOORE, Esq.**

*Quis nescit primam esse historiæ legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat; deinde,
ne quid veri non audeat.*

CICERO DE ORATORE.

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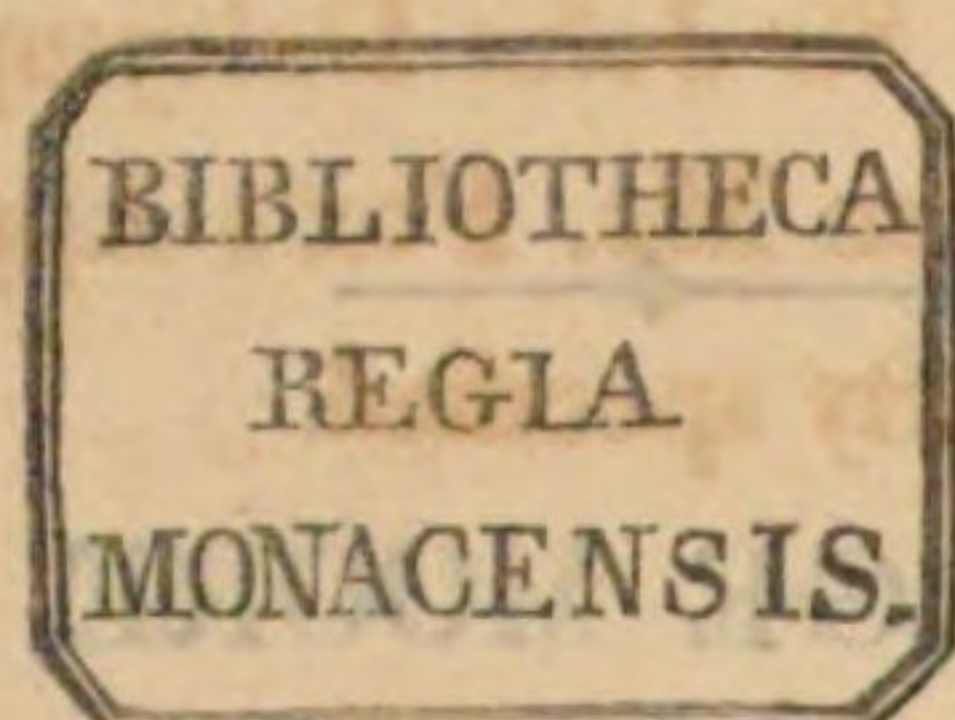
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH REVOLUTION

1688-9

ACCORDING TO THE STATE OF THE NATION

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND.
The Reader will have occasion to observe the
progress of the Revolution in the following
the Department of the Ministry.
IN THE LAST OF THESE KINGDOMS, INCLUSIVE
of the Kingdom of Wales, and Town of Berwick
upon Tyne, is contained the following



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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Reader will have occasion to observe the frequent use that is made in the following Work of the Dispatches of Barillon, the French ambassador to his court. He is now informed, by way of advertisement, that when the date of a dispatch is alone mentioned, Sir John Dalrymple's Appendix is referred to. When Mr. Fox's Appendix is resorted to, it is particularly specified.

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HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH REVOLUTION
OF
1688-9.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

I HAVE undertaken to write the History of the most **CHAP. I.**
interesting, to an English reader, among those very few
revolutions in government, which have been, on the whole,
productive of much good to the nations which experienced
them. The Revolution in England, of 1689, was effected,
in the first instance, without the effusion of blood, with-
out any breaking up of the scheme of society, with little
deviation from the preceding established order of things.
How this was accomplished well merits a detailed expla-
nation. In executing this task, I shall raise a monument
to the honour of my country;—I shall have to commemo-
rate unexampled prudence and discretion in public men,
moderation in parties, unostentatious wisdom, and calm,
sober patriotism. The effects have corresponded to these
beginnings. From the era of the Revolution dates a more
perfect system of policy and government, than ever was
witnessed among any other portion of the race of man;
indeed as perfect as is consistent with the condition of
human nature.

CHAP. I. If the singular good conduct of our ancestors, to which we are indebted for these inestimable blessings, could not entirely shield themselves and their posterity from wars, from bloodshed occasioned by the spirit of vexed and mortified ambition on the one side, and the struggles of virtuous liberty on the other; yet to their glory it must be recorded, that if it had been possible to arrest the passions of man, and inflict a necessary injury without exciting pain or resentment, they deserved that such a miracle should have been wrought in their favour. No other age or country has to boast of so mild, innocent, and withal effectual revolution, as opened in the last days of the year 1688.

Yet the state of the public mind which assisted in producing this revolution was not such as to promise all the beneficial consequences which have flowed from it. The event itself brought civil and political liberty almost to perfection; yet little zeal or ardour for civil or political liberty is discoverable among the people of England at the time. The majority might be said to be nearly indifferent about it. Had the whole population of the kingdom been polled, the far greater number would have declared for the royal prerogative in all the height to which the most aspiring of the Stuarts would have carried it.—This, I think, will evidently appear in the deduction of facts which forms the body of this history. What Mr. Fox says of the people of England about this period, will be found strictly true, and is perhaps equally so of the bulk of every other people, *their habits and prejudices are aristocratical*. Real liberty is enjoyed, and in the enjoyment almost escapes observation. *Power* is what the human mind surveys with pleasure. *Power* has every thing to catch its admiration, and captivate its good will. The lowest menial exults in the power and splendor of his master. In supporting this power and splendor, he thinks he supports his own consequence. He is still more anxious to support power and splendor which he gazes at, at an humble distance, and of which he has never heard

spoken without emotions of joy and wonder. He associates every thing delightful with the name of *king*. It may, I think, be affirmed, that no revolution has originated from a desire of liberty in the greater number of individuals composing a nation; that all changes tending to eclipse the pomp, and diminish the power, of the person invested with the title of king, are, upon the whole, displeasing to the great body of the population in a country. Yet the revolution of 1688 or 1689, had it gone no further than interrupting the course of government before that time pursued by James II., would have been highly agreeable to the people of England. As it was, the multitude received it with acquiescence, bordering on satisfaction. The reason of this must be sought in a passion which prevailed to the largest extent, and in the highest degree,—a dread and hatred of *Popery*.

That the Catholic religion was so completely rooted up and extirpated in England, and was succeeded by a passion, so generally and decidedly hostile to it, is a circumstance in history well deserving of attention. The causes of the Reformation have been investigated by many writers. The abuses of ecclesiastical wealth and power, which provoked the laity in so many parts of Europe, have been minutely detailed; but it has not yet been explained, how, in a country where an ancient religion of a most stubborn and tenacious character, had struck deeper root than, perhaps, in any other, it was in a few years so entirely torn up, as to leave no other trace behind it than a generally diffused, and vehemently fanatical, hatred of the very name.

The Catholic religion, it is well known, is distinguished by circumstances well calculated to give it fast hold on a mind it has once possessed. It exerts all the dominion attributed to what has been called a *metaphysical* religion, while it retains some modes of influence that seemed to have belonged to the ancient paganism. It has its objects of local veneration. It has its forms of worship consecrated to particular spots. Miraculous wells, saints patronizing certain towns and districts; and more imme-

CHAP. I. diately revered by them, images of local virtue and celebrity. These were known in all parts of England; and they had a tendency to plant the religion they supported, not only in the opinions and belief of the inhabitants *in general*, but to give it a traditionary establishment in every group, more or less extended, into which these inhabitants were divided; yet, extraordinary to relate, this religion may be said to have in a few years entirely disappeared. Districts, where miracles were supposed to be daily wrought, where saints of ancient renown were in possession of all the superstitious humours of the country, were left with not one lingering adherent to what had been so long cherished and revered.

It might seem, that so wonderful a change had been the result of much plan and contrivance, of means studiously and regularly adapted to the end. On the contrary, no plan or contrivance is discernible. The Reformation in other countries proceeded with something of method. It was carried on through the channels of argumentation and discussion. It was accompanied, at least, if not effected by the labours of missionaries and divines. In England it had its beginning, in a great measure, from the caprice of a tyrant, and was always in subservience to the turns and waverings of the caprice from which it originated. It had nothing like an emanation from principle. The same hand which encouraged it in some walks and directions, severely checked and drove it back in others. Henry VIII. disclaimed the Papal authority, as it was opposed to his passions. He rooted up monasteries, and plundered the shrines of saints as the spoils tempted his cupidity; but to the last he supported the principal doctrines of the church of Rome. Proselytes to the Reformation were burned alive to the end of his reign.

One of his daughters adhered to the ancient faith, and exerted her utmost power to restore it; but the opposition she encountered plainly told her, it was no longer the faith of the people. Her sister Elizabeth ascended the throne after her with opposite views and sentiments; and, to carry

these views and sentiments into effect, she had only to go CHAP. I.
with the national tide. She found the work accomplished
to her hands. Her subjects were not merely *not* Catho-
lics, but haters of the Catholic religion.

It is true, that it was in England the first dawn of the Reformation appeared. As early as Edward III. Wickliff had published many of the reformed doctrines, and the publication was received with favour even by the lower orders. It was some of his disciples who carried them to Bohemia, where arose John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, the immediate predecessors of Luther and Calvin. The opinions of Wickliff had spread in various directions, when they were arrested in their progress by the sanguinary zeal with which those who professed them were persecuted by successive monarchs. They had been nearly exterminated, when the rupture of Henry VIII. revived them, and brought them again into vigorous exertion. An historian of approved diligence and investigation has remarked, that few nations seemed more attached to the court and church of Rome, than the English at the accession of Henry to the throne*.

With the strong aristocratic feelings which possessed the English nation, and their general attachment to the monarchy, it might have been thought, that the events of the reign of the first Charles would have had some effect in reconciling them to the religion of their ancestors, or at least, in softening and diverting their hatred of it. There can be little doubt, that the rebellion was the work of a comparatively small faction; that the bulk of the popular feeling was strongly against it. Some measures and proceedings of the court might have excited a pretty general dislike, and a certain degree of opposition might not have been unpalatable to the nation: but the fanatical Ludlow, himself†, has told us how the people of England loved the

* Henry's Hist. vol. xii. p. 10.

† He thus relates the King's progress from Newcastle to Holmby, after he had been delivered up by the Scots.—“These things, I say, made the people ready to conclude, that, though his designs had been wonderfully

CHAP. I. person of their king; with what detestation and horror they beheld the multiplied humiliations which were heaped upon his head. It happened, however, as we have seen in our days, the faint murmurs of the unarmed many were quickly stifled by the armed few. The nation was terrified and awed—acquiesced. Such is the history of most revolutions. The murder of the king was heard with the bitterest sorrow and lamentation. It excited in many breasts feelings such as a private and domestic calamity would produce. No sooner was the strong hand of Cromwell withdrawn, than the popular tide which force and violence had repressed, crowded fast to the feet of the lawful prince. The feelings with which the excesses of the civil war had been contemplated, were sufficiently expressed by the joy which pervaded the nation at the restoration of Charles II.; joy attested by the same Ludlow, who surveyed the many popular manifestations of it from the windows of a house in Holborn, where he lay concealed*.

defeated, his armies beaten out of the field, and himself delivered into the hands of the Parliament against whom he had made a long and bloody war, yet certainly he must be in the right: and though he was guilty of the blood of many thousands, yet he was still unaccountable, in a condition to give pardon, and not in need of receiving any: which made them flock from all parts to see him, as he was brought from Newcastle to Holmby, falling down before him, bringing their sick to be touched by him, and courting him as only able to restore to them their peace and settlement."

Lud. Mem. v. i. p. 187.

* "Bonfires were made, the bells were rung, and much happiness expected from the change," v. iii. p. 1. It may be conceived how harrassing to his feelings all this popular joy was; he who was accustomed to use the name of the people, and the popular cause, in all his excesses. His wounded spirit breaks out against what he calls the "inconstant multitude." This is the uniform cant of all such patriotic worthies†. As long as there was any appearance of the multitude going along with him, then he descanted, with much complacency, on "the power and privileges of Parliament, rights and liberties of the people," v. i. p. 13. But, no sooner does this same multitude prove a little refractory, or does not exactly correspond to his views, than his language immediately changes.

† ——— or like Ludlow and Sydney, have mourned in exile the lost liberties of his country.

The people, the large majority of the population of the country, were, in the effervescence of the moment ready for any sacrifice. It might have been expected they would have sacrificed their hatred of Popery, and have abandoned the favourite cry, the constant watch-word of the fanatics they detested. But, no—where their political rights and interests were alone concerned, they were all submission. They might easily have been induced to resign their parliaments, their constitution, their liberties; but, on the head of religion, they were immoveable. Harrassed and worried as they had been by the enemies of Popery, accustomed as they had been to connect the subversion of the throne, the destruction of all they loved and revered, with a hatred of Popery, still they continued to hate Popery as before. This passion in their breasts knew no abatement. It was rekindled on every occasion. It scarcely ever slumbered—never was extinguished.

The last parliaments of Charles II. supported themselves entirely on the *Popish Plot*. That part of their proceedings, which exposes them to the severest animadversion from posterity, which cannot be read over at this day without feelings of national lamentation and shame, was what reconciled, in a great measure, their contemporaries to them*. A heap of absurdities, attested only by perjured wretches, the most profligate of mankind, gained universal belief, and excited an universal flame, merely because it fell in with the prevalent hatred of Popery. Whatsoever

Then it is, "the rabble," v. i. p. 169.; "insolent address from the Mayor and Common Council of the city of London," p. 179.; "mob of apprentices, insolent rabble," p. 206.; "riotous disorder," v. ii. p. 840.; "subscriptions of the rabble, who not only paid nothing either to the state, church, or poor, but also received the public alms of the parish," 872. His eyes suddenly open to the weight of property, to the distinctions of rank and fortune—to the contemptible character of mere numbers.

* The fact appears to have been the very reverse of what such historians suppose; and that the activity of the late parliamentary leaders in prosecuting the Popish plot, was the principal circumstance which reconciled the nation for a time to their proceedings; that their conduct in that business (now so justly condemned) was the grand engine of their power, &c.
—Mr. Fox.

CHAP. I. those parliaments did for liberty in opposition to royal power, the most praiseworthy exertions of the patriots of that day were surveyed by the bulk of the people with emotions little short of disapprobation and dislike; but when they raised a shout against Popery, the people shouted again.—When innocent men were hurried to the scaffold, it was sufficient the sufferers were Papists, or said to be implicated in a Popish plot. The people lost all feelings of humanity—they exulted and triumphed in their blood.

It was this strong feeling of hatred, to the religion which James II. had embraced and laboured to establish in his kingdom, which occasioned his downfall, and was the main engine in producing the revolution of 1689.

James II. was the first professed Catholic of the Stuart family in England; but somewhat of a leaning to that religion may be discovered in all his ancestors from their accession to the English throne, and this may be ascribed to the character of the Reformation in Scotland.

The Reformation in England was partially adopted by Henry VIII., but this partial adoption, which had its origin in passion, and which went no farther than passion pointed, became, in the reign of his successor, the regular and decided patronage of genuine piety and conviction.—Edward VI. was a sincere and zealous convert to the reformed doctrines, and both in pursuance of his inclination and that of his ministers, the Reformation was engrafted on the state. The ancient religion gave up many of its tenets and ceremonies, and thus pruned and softened down, remained associated with the throne. It preserved much of its wealth, much of its splendor, the whole of its hierarchy, and was thus the ornament and support of monarchy.

The progress of reformation in Scotland was very different:—from the beginning it encountered the opposition of the court, and had thereby the harshness and acrimony infused into it of a persecuted and belligerent religion. This character derived an additional shade of gloom from the character of its most strenuous champion, and principal

promoter, John Knox.—This man had, early in the warfare CHAP. I.
which the Reformation had to maintain, passed over to Geneva, and had there ranged himself under the banners of Calvin. His mind, already ulcerated, had all its morbid humours put into a fresh and more vehement ferment in this school. On his return to his native country, he brought with him the particular mode of reformation which his master had promulgated; his austere, fanatical, almost atrocious doctrines, his republican spirit and discipline. He was well qualified by his robust frame of mind, his dauntless courage, and unaccommodating manners, to tread in the footsteps of such a master. He blew the trumpet of sedition with a tremendous blast.—He excited, he inflamed to madness the passions of his unruly countrymen.—The gentle, the elegant, the amorous Mary was hurled from her throne, and obliged to seek refuge in the dominions of her jealous rival Elizabeth, found a prison, and at length a scaffold.

Her son James, who afterwards passed to the throne of *England*, and was the first of the Stuart family in that kingdom, was an infant at the expulsion of his mother. He was educated in the new opinions, and at no subsequent period of his life did he abandon them.—He arrived at great proficiency in theological knowledge, and as a theologian, was a decided enemy to the speculative tenets of the church of Rome. But this did not reconcile him to the form and spirit of the Reformation in Scotland. The Scotch reformers had stripped religion of all pomp and ceremony, and had overturned the order of episcopacy, establishing the Presbyterian government in its stead; but James was fondly attached to the pomp and ceremony which had been destroyed, and made repeated efforts to restore episcopacy.—In his theological character, while he combated the doctrines of Rome, he was no less strenuous against those of Geneva. On more than one occasion he showed so strong a leaning against the Reformation as it displayed itself in his native country, as to be suspected, both by the friends and enemies of the Romish persuasion, of being a

CHAP. I. secret adherent to it. Certain it is, that though he did not profess the religion of Rome, his character and whole ecclesiastical administration were deeply stained with the genius of that church; and he may be said to have at a distance prepared the way for that change in his posterity which deprived them of the British crowns.

Some anecdotes have been transmitted to us of his queen, Anne of Denmark, which would persuade us she was absolutely a Catholic. The Pope, we are told, sent her beads and relics, and thanked her for not communicating with heretics at her coronation*. This, her belief, she must have endeavoured to instil into her son Charles; for the same accounts inform us, that she said, speaking to the Spanish ambassador, he might, peradventure, one day see the Prince on a pilgrimage at Saint Jago†. Whatever lessons to this effect Charles received from his mother, and whatever disposition the example of his father may be supposed to have produced, all the events of his life were well calculated to confirm; and whoever attentively peruses his history, cannot fail of wondering, he did not before his death become a proselyte to the Catholic faith. The rebellion he had to combat, and to which he ultimately fell a victim, he must have considered as springing originally from the Reformation. He might not unreasonably conclude, from the spirit and cries of the rebel armies, that if his subjects had remained Catholics, they would have remained obedient to his authority. Their opinions in politics ran parallel with their hatred of Popery. It was an easy and natural transition in which the understanding would almost favour the bent of the passions, to espouse that religion, and even become wedded to it in an exact proportion to the vehemence with which his enemies exclaimed against it, and the bitterness with which they persecuted it wherever they encountered it in their rebellious progress. The impression was strengthened by the

* Winwood, quoted in the catalogue of Royal Authors. Lord Orford's Works.

† Ibid.

history of his immediate ancestors.—When he looked back, what might seem the genius of the Reformation offered itself to him, bringing his grand-mother to a tragical end, and diffusing bitterness and disquietude over the life of his father. He had, from the beginning, been intended for a Catholic princess.—He had gone to Spain in quest of a wife; where, to render himself agreeable, as well to the object of his courtship as to the people of the country, he must have put on a semblance, at least of partiality to their religion; and it is in the human mind to become a convert to what it long counterfeits. He afterwards espoused a daughter of France, a zealous Catholic, and he is noticed as singularly uxorious. His misfortunes would further have operated in the same direction. A sovereign condemned to death by his own subjects would, it might have been expected, at the approach of that death, have thrown himself into the arms of a religion, for which so many circumstances had prepared him; which he found the religion of part of his own family and most stedfast adherents, and which is remarkable for largely supplying the balm of hurt minds, the most soothing consolation to the afflicted great; yet, from a religion so recommended, he steadily abstained. He was assisted in his last devotions by a prelate of the established church of England, and almost his last words spoke an undeviating adherence to that church;—an adherence so extraordinary would seem the effect of truth, if the conviction of any mind, under any circumstances, were sufficient to establish such a conclusion. He had, before his death, cautioned his sons, who, he foresaw, would probably take refuge in Catholic countries, not to be seduced from the religion of England, ordering them to obey their mother in every thing except religion*.

His eldest Charles, who, after the interval of some years, succeeded him with the title of Charles II., was half inclined to disregard his advice.—Those circumstances of attraction which had not prevailed with his father, were not

* Burnet.

CHAP. I. without their effect upon him. A scheme of worship which was zealously, though loosely professed by most of his associates, which was the creed of the most powerful sovereigns on the continent; which he beheld every where the support and ornament of the kingly authority, found an easy way to his heart. The severity of its precepts might seem to have repulsed a voluptuous and dissolute prince.—He was probably too indolent to attend to the relaxations of casuists, but *in point of fact and practice*, he found it mixing kindly enough with gay and elegant licentiousness.

He is said to have manifested at this time some disposition to infidelity, and to have listened with pleasure to the notions of Hobbes, as composing an ingenious system which allowed the passions a full and uncircumscribed range. This turn to infidelity, according to a theory of the austere and vehement Burnet, brought him still nearer to Popery. Without adopting a theory which may be said to have no other foundation than the overflowing zeal of a Protestant polemic, it may be related, that the Catholic faith was agreeable to the polite and courtly notions of Charles. He was led to regard the Protestant as the religion of republicans and plebeians, and he seems to have had an eye to all the Protestant forms, when he remarked with warmth, that the Presbyterian was not a religion for a gentleman. The effect of all these combined attractions and recommendations was, that before his death he was, without doubt, a Catholic; but he took care to conceal his change from a well grounded persuasion of the invincible attachment of his subjects to the Protestant opinions. His mother herself was so convinced of the strength of this attachment, that upon her return to Somerset House after the Restoration, she publicly said that if she had known the temper of the people of England some years before as well as she did then, she had never been obliged to leave that house*.

If with all the religious zeal which possessed this CHAP. I.
princess, she could not but see an object so full and prominent, it may well be thought it did not escape the discernment of Charles, naturally strong and but little intercepted by prejudice. When pressed by his zealous Catholic counsellors on the subject of religion, his usual answer was, delivered with some spleen, that he had no mind to travel again; and referring to the blind bigotry of his brother James, he often talked of "*la sottise de son frère*." The opinions which had only produced a distant and lukewarm change in Charles were greedily swallowed by James. Charles was wavering and uncertain, in the trammels of pleasure, and half seduced by the blandishments of infidelity. He had too keen an understanding, and too nice a perception of his own interests rashly to throw off the mask. But James had all the qualities of an enthusiast in all their energy and strength. Religion was to him a matter of the most earnest belief and ardent zeal. Some hypocrisy, however, he must have practised, if it be true that persons were fined in large sums for saying he was a Papist*. But when an Act of Parliament passed in 1672, obliging every person holding an office under the crown to sign a declaration against transubstantiation, he indignantly refused to submit to the required test. He threw up all his commissions, divesting himself of the office of high admiral of England, which he had till that time filled, and not without some reputation. He was now a declared Roman Catholic. His first wife dying, he hastened to publish a paper she had, according to his account, drawn up, assigning her reasons for embracing the religion of her husband. She was a confirmed Protestant by her alliances, a daughter of Lord Chancellor Clarendon. The private history of that time says, that James had seduced her, and she proving pregnant from the connection, and alleging a promise of marriage, the King had obliged him to marry her. His second was

CHAP. I. more a marriage of choice, and he clearly showed the quarter to which he carried his preference, by selecting his wife from the bosom of Italy, and the Catholic religion. He was married by proxy to a princess of the house of Modena. She came over to England in the winter of 1674.

A Catholic professed, and presumptive heir to the throne, he became an object of dread and suspicion to all the zealous Protestants of the kingdom, and there were few bosoms at that time which some portion of this zeal did not animate.

The Popish Plot, 1678. This zeal received a wonderful augmentation by the alarm of the Popish Plot in 1678. Never did an epidemical passion spread itself in such a manner from the lowest to the highest members of the community. It broke out in expressions which would be quite laughable, were it not for the horrors which followed. One Sir Thomas Player, chamberlain of the city, exclaimed in the confused blundering language of terror, that if the citizens did not look sharp about them, they might all get up next morning with their throats cut. The Long Parliament which sat, was but too faithful a representative of the sentiments and dispositions of the multitude. Though it had been elected, during a period of enthusiastic loyalty at the Restoration, it more consulted the passions of the populace than the wishes and opinions of the King. No consideration or remonstrance could check the popular spirit which pervaded the minds of the assembled senators. It was in the House of Commons this spirit more particularly showed itself. No minister, no man in the confidence of his sovereign, dared to interpose the language of moderation or doubt. All was zeal and clamour, the echo of what prevailed without doors. The only thing like evidence which lent a countenance to the reality of the plot was a bundle of letters written by a man of the name of Coleman. In these papers James, the presumptive heir, was often named, and held out as the hope and idol of the Catholic party. This was enough. His birth and

rank could not protect him from the most violent suspi- CHAP. I.
cions. A motion was made by Lord Russell* for an
address to the King to remove him from his presence and
councils. It was resolved among the leading members
of the Commons to exclude him by a solemn act of the
legislature from the throne to which he was so near; but
before this resolution had time to ripen into the scheme
of a bill, the King thought proper to dissolve the
parliament.

Nothing was gained by this dissolution. It was found
necessary to convene another parliament early next year,
and the House of Commons, which continued the house
of the multitude, met with the same passions which had
animated their predecessors. The exclusion was brought
in the form of a regular bill, and was carried through the
house. Much personal acrimony against James appears
in some of the debates. He had left the kingdom in the
interval of the two parliaments, and it was proposed to
address the King not to suffer him to return. Rather I
would have him return, exclaimed one of the members,
that we may impeach him of high treason. The King,
however, determined not to consent to the exclusion,
dissolved the parliament before the bill had reached the
House of Peers.

Before his necessities had driven him to a third parlia- 1680.
ment, various modes of annoyance were set on foot against
James. In the summer of 1680, Lord Shaftsbury, leader
of the opposition, appeared in Westminster Hall, attended
by the Earl of Huntingdon, the Lords Russell, Cavendish,
Grey, Brandon, Sir Henry Caverly, Sir Gilbert Gerard,
Sir William Cooper, and other persons of distinction, and
with marked solemnity tendered to the grand jury of
Middlesex an indictment against him as a Popish recusant.
His enemies, aware of his temper, and the degree of reli-
gious pertinacity which possessed him, succeeded in per-
suading the King to send the Bishops of Canterbury and

* Grey's Debates, November 4, 1678.

CHAP. I. Winchester for the purpose of converting him to the Protestant faith. James, who, in the spirit in which he had become a Catholic, would have thought he incurred the highest displeasure of heaven, if he so much as hesitated, or admitted the shadow of a doubt, received the good bishops very coldly, and positively refused to hear any of the controversial arguments with which they had come prepared. This prince, says Barillon the French ambassador, after recounting the incident to his court, does not appear the least shaken, and is resolved not to deviate in any thing from the open profession he makes of the Catholic religion*.

Charles, with a view to the parliament which he was compelled to assemble, ordered him to quit the kingdom a second time. His removal was one of the measures he concerted to soften and divert the animosity of opposition. James was so exasperated by these repeated banishments and multiplied mortifications, that he talked wildly to the French ambassador of raising a rebellion in the three kingdoms†. Vehement must have been the poignancy of his feelings, when they overpowered the habitual principles of obedience and submission he cherished. It is well known he had laid it down as a fixed system to himself, grounded on his exalted notions of the royal authority, to obey the King his brother without exception or reserve, and that he was no less a dutiful subject, than he was afterwards an arbitrary monarch.

At length, on the 21st of October, 1680, met the parliament which the King so much dreaded, and had so strongly exerted himself to avoid. He knew the violence he would have to encounter, and he adopted a very artful plan under the circumstances wherein he was placed. He resolved to throw the whole blame on his enemies, by the most specious offers and overtures, calculating they would be rejected, and that when the nation beheld the views and passions of a faction, they would gather round the

* Dispatch, March 6, 1679.

† Dis. October 31, 1680.

throne. He had not been wanting in offers of a similar CHAP. I.
import to the preceding parliaments. He renewed them
at the opening of this in a more direct shape, accompanied
by a number of soothing and conciliating expressions.
He said, among other things, that nothing should be
wanting on his part to give the fullest satisfaction their
hearts could wish for the security of the Protestant reli-
gion, and that he was resolved to concur with them in any
new remedies which should be proposed *that might consist*
with the preserving the succession of the crown in its due
and legal course of descent. The party in opposition to
the court acted as the king had foreseen. They were
satisfied with no expedients. They would listen to no
compromise. They insisted absolutely and peremptorily
on the exclusion. On the 2nd of November, ten days
after the opening of the session, a bill was brought into Exclusion
the House of Commons to exclude James, Duke of York, Bill.
from the succession to the throne. The violence in push-
ing forward the measure was equalled only by the intem-
perate *language of some of the members in the course of*
the debates. One accused James of sacrificing the
English to save the French in the naval engagement with
the Dutch at Solebay. Another declaimed against mo-
deration on such a question; but, notwithstanding the
zeal and acrimony with which the bill was supported, the
King's friends finally succeeded in throwing it out. It Finally
passed the Commons, but finding all the bishops, with miscarries.
the exception of three, united against it in the House of
Peers, it was lost by a considerable majority.

The obstinacy of the popular leaders in rejecting all the
overtures of the King, cannot be explained on any prin-
ciples of public virtue or prudence. Supposing the exclu-
sion, absolutely, to have been without any comparison the
most desirable object, they must have been fully aware
they never could accomplish it. The King had expressed
his determination in such a manner as shewed he was not
to be shaken. He considered all the maxims which upheld
the monarchy involved in the question; nor was the mea-

CHAP. I. — sures less adverse to the opinions and feelings of a large majority of the nation, who regarded with a sort of religious reverence the succession to the crown by *blood*, and thought it could not be violated without something approaching to impiety. The restrictions and limitations offered by the King, if they were not precisely as effectual as the exclusion, afforded, however, no slender security, and considerably diminished, if not entirely, removed the danger. The refusal of all negociation and compromise, exposed the nation to the imminent risk of seeing itself subjected without reserve to the arbitrary inclinations of the determined enemy of its religion.—Such of the popular leaders (and there were many among them of this description) as harboured republican theories, and were eager to introduce a republican form of government into their country, had a particular inducement to embrace the scheme of restrictions; which, by depriving the throne of that portion of authority the constitution had judged necessary to its maintenance, seemed to reduce it to a mere name, if not to threaten its complete downfall.

The conduct of the men I have referred to had for some years appeared involved in mystery and obscurity, and filled observers with surprise. About the time of the Popish plot, it particularly struck Lord Keeper North in this view:—"It was very strange," wrote he in one of his memorandums*, "to see the Papists join in the cry against the court; and the country party keep company with the French ambassador; and Mr. Coleman (who was truly a pensioner of France,) send letters of intelligence to his friends in several parts, burlesquing the Orders of Government; and their buckling to France, and magnifying Spain and the confederates; and boasting of a *true English spirit*; and he was turned out of the duke's service for these pranks, by the King's command, which made him be more cherished by the *Whigs*, who conversed with him, especially in parliament time, when he always made them welcome to his table."

* Dal. App.

We shall see by a passage of Burnet, that, even before this CHAP. I.
period, a strong and general suspicion prevailed, that French money was the secret spring of this mysterious conduct. But what was no more than suspicion at the time, is now converted into what may be deemed certainty; and we are furnished with documents which amply prove, that all those pretended patriots were in the pay, or under the direct influence of the French government. They explain the policy of France with respect to England for a series of years, and open to us a very curious branch of history.

So early as the reign of Lewis XIII. and the beginning of our civil wars, we find France interfering in the affairs of England; and by her money and intrigues, inflaming the passions of the multitude to disturb her government. Cardinal Richelieu, who, it seems, hated our first Charles, as inclining to Spain in opposition to his ambitious designs, dispatched a Marquis de Seneterre as ambassador to the King, but with secret instructions to gain over the disaffected, and scatter money on all sides to excite the rebellion which followed. Writers have not taken notice of this important fact, which will lead us to distrust much of the ardent patriotism professed at the time. Algernon Sydney will be found convicted of being a pensioner of France; and, perhaps, the *virtuous Hampden*, and others of that description, had much of their popular enthusiasm excited by the seasonable donations of the Marquis de Seneterre. The Count d'Estrades had been sent to England at an earlier period, on nearly a similar mission with the marquis. This is not loose information, derived from obscure sources, but personally communicated by Henrietta, Queen of Charles I. (herself a French woman, and who would not be disposed to load the councils of her country with unmerited imputations,) to Madame de Motteville, who, in her interesting *Mémoires*, has recorded it for the benefit of posterity*.

* *Mémoires pour servir, &c.* v. i. p. 244.

CHAP. I. When, after the civil wars and the usurpation of Cromwell, the restoration of the lawful sovereign was in agitation, Sir Philip Warwick informs us, "The ambassador of the King of France, having winded this proposition, (that of offering the crown to General Monk, entertained by some of the popular leaders at the time,) finds means for a conference with Clarges, and to desire, by him, to assure the general, that if he had any aim to assume the government himself, his master would be a very steady friend to him; or if his eye was cast upon the King, he would be ministerial thereunto; (for he that had dismissed him his own country, would have been very loath to have seen his majesty return home without his having been instrumental therein; or he that had cast in some of his coloquintida into our pottage all this time, was unwilling it should want a little of his cookery now)*."

It was not long after the Restoration, when the King appears to have turned his eyes towards France, and manifested an eagerness for French connection. There are, however, no traces in the papers which have been laid before the public of French bribery or intrigue during the ministry of Lord Clarendon. It is probable that virtuous minister shielded his master while he remained in power from that pestilential influence; but no sooner was he dismissed the court and kingdom, than Charles yielded to his vicious inclinations, and opened a connection with France. Before he entered into the triple league, which has ever been esteemed the most praiseworthy measure of his reign, he had given unequivocal intimations to the French King, that he preferred an alliance with him; and when, at last, a concurrence of fortunate circumstances forced him, as it were, into the measure, we find him offering humble excuses to the French court for this apparent instance of virtue†. In pursuance of his correspondence with France, he gradually detached himself from this league, and every day made

* Mem. p. 426.

† Dal. App.

some new step towards a dependence on the ancient CHAP. I.
enemy of his monarchy. As soon as he threw himself
into the counsels of the Cabal, he threw off at the same
time all sense of shame, and not only took himself the
money of France, but countenanced his principal ministers
and courtiers in doing the same.—The most open bribery
and corruption pervaded the whole of his court.—Not
only the King, but Ashley Cooper Lord Shaftesbury,
Lauderdale, and Buckingham, with his knowledge and
privity, received large donations.—The mistresses too had
their regular pensions, and the whole Government may
be said to have been sold to France.

Mr. Fox, who has studiously kept his eyes from the
intrigues and bribery carried on at a subsequent period,
with the popular leaders, or patriots, as he is pleased to
consider them; but has permitted his observation to fix
itself in no ordinary degree, on the venality of the two
kings, Charles and James, has, from his constant attention
to this side of the subject, persuaded himself, that France,
in all her intrigues and pecuniary negotiations with Eng-
land, had, for her principal object, to render the King of
England absolute*. This notion is directly met and con-
tradicted by Barillon the French ambassador, who was,
during a considerable period of time, the great agent in
these intrigues. “The most sensible among them,” says
he, speaking of the pretended patriots, “know full well it
is not the interest of France that a King of England should
be absolute master, and be able to dispose, according to
his will, of all the power of the nation†.”

The real object is intimated in the latter part of this
passage; and is more fully explained in a number of other
dispatches.

The power of the English nation was very considerable;
and its weight in the balanced system of Europe far
exceeding the proportion of its population. The institu-

* Fox's Hist. Work, p. 90. 108. and others.

† Dispatch, 11th of April, 1678.

CHAP. I. tions by which it was governed, imparted a generous warmth to all classes of the people, and planted and spread far and wide a most vigorous spirit of industry and enterprise. This spirit, exerting itself in an enlarged circle of foreign commerce, had produced a diversified stock of wealth, and a navy of signal pre-eminence. Not only English fleets swept the ocean, but English *armies*, whenever they appeared on the great scenes of European warfare, compensated for the want of numbers, by an intrepidity and spirit which seemed to descend from a higher source than any mere *system of tactics*. It did not escape the discernment of Lewis and his ministers, that if these various energies were ever brought into an orderly arrangement, and obeyed the impulse of a single will, they would prove an insuperable obstacle to any designs of universal monarchy, which he or his successors might be tempted to form; according to the picture which Mr. Fox has finely drawn, "Indeed, this prince and his ministers seem all along, with a sagacity that does them credit to have foreseen, and to have justly estimated the dangers to which they would be liable, if a cordial union should ever take place between a king of England and his parliament; and the British councils be directed by men, enlightened and warned by the genuine principles of liberty." But the forms of the English Government, not yet blended by any principle of cohesion or harmony, intercepted almost the hope that this picture would ever be realized. The members, of which the Government was composed, were almost necessarily at variance. The genial animation which flowed from liberty and popular rights, was scarcely a compensation for the jarrings and discords which they produced. To set in motion the several popular humours, to play one member of the Government against the other, for the purpose of preventing settlement and force, was the constant policy of Lewis. In confirmation of this opinion, we possess a document of singular authority; a memorial, drawn up by one Blancard. This Blancard had been secretary to the Marquis de Rouvigny, employed in

the most secret and confidential negotiations between France and England. These negotiations, in their most private parts, had been confided to him. He happened, at a subsequent period, to pass over into the service of the English Government; and he drew up his memorial for the express purpose of explaining the views of France in her several transactions with England. His words are, "The King of France would have been very sorry, that he (the King of England) had been absolute in his states; one of his most constant maxims, since the re-establishment of that prince, having been, to set him at variance with his parliament, and to make use, sometimes of the one, sometimes of the other; and always, by money, to gain his ends*."

So intent was Lewis on this object, that he was often willing to sacrifice to it the opinions and prejudices which adhered most closely to him. He talked of liberty and the Constitution to the *patriots*. He flattered the Republicans with the prospect of a republic; and by this clumsy artifice, soothed their rebelling consciences, and reconciled them to their own baseness and corruption. He even, at one time, seems to have got over his Catholic bigotry, and carried on a correspondence with the fanatics who were meditating deeds of unexampled atrocity and wickedness against the Catholics. There is no doubt, that, from his exalted notions of the character of kings, he would have preferred holding the King of England and his court in subservience, and abstained from all connection with the popular leaders. As long, therefore, as Charles seconded his views by his unprovoked hostilities on the Dutch republic, he confined his intrigues and bribery almost entirely to the King and his party. But when the King was compelled by his parliament to conclude a peace with the Dutch; and when, from a variety of circumstances, he seemed gradually receding from his connection with France, and almost tempted to join the confederate powers

* Dal. App.

CHAP. I. against her, Lewis, still faithful to his plan, began to turn to the parliament, and seek to gain over the parliamentary leaders. At first, he appears to have given money to the King, to bribe his own subjects; but, in 1677, he opened a separate account of his own with some of the most distinguished *patriots*. There is a list of disbursements furnished by Courtin, the French ambassador, specifying different sums paid by him to them. In the summer of 1677, Barillon succeeded Courtin in his embassy. About this time, the marriage of the Princess Mary with the Prince of Orange, concluded under the auspices of the King of England, persuaded Lewis he had nothing to expect from the court, and induced him to carry on this system of influence and bribery, more extensively, with increased means. From the period of the marriage, a disposition to hostility against France was every day gaining ground in the English court. It gathered strength in the mind of the King, and even extended to James, who had hitherto been fanatically bent on preferring a French connection to every other. The views of policy which had so far surmounted his Catholic zeal, which France was best able and most willing to second, are explained in Barillon's dispatch of the 18th of April, 1678. Lewis was provoked. His first step was to withdraw the pension he had hitherto paid the King. He next resolved to send a special envoy to the *patriots*. It was judged in his councils, that Barillon, from his short residence, might not be sufficiently acquainted with the character of the factious, to have the management of the fund of corruption. It was apprehended he might possibly fall into some mistakes as to those who would palm the gold, and those to whom other modes of seduction were to be applied.—Accordingly the French cabinet turned their eyes to the Marquis of Rouvigny, who had been Barillon's predecessor some years before, and was thought to have acquired all the requisite expertness. He was, however, too old to undertake the mission, and his son was chosen to supply his place, to whom he was to communicate every

light and instruction. He crossed over about the end of CHAP. I.
January 1678.

This journey of Rouvigny to England, and the purposes for which it was undertaken, which form important links in the chain of facts by which the system of bribery in question, is proved, are attested in Lord Danby's Letters, a work published in the beginning of the last century, by that nobleman himself, then Duke of Leeds; and concerning which, no suspicion of falsification was ever entertained. Among the letters published, is one received while he was at the head of the ministry, dated January 11, 1678, from Montague, English ambassador in France. It contains the following passage:—"The occasion of my giving you this trouble, is to give you the best light I can into the reason of Mr. Rouvigny's son's journey into England; who will be there, perhaps, as soon as this letter: if his father's age would have permitted it, I believe they would have sent him; for they have chosen the son, who is to make use of lights his father will give him; and, by the *near relation he has to my Lady Vaughan*, who is his *cousin-german*, and the particular friendship which father and son have with Mr. William Russell, he is to be introduced into a great commerce with the malecontented members of parliament, and insinuate what they shall think fit to cross your measures at court, if they shall prove disagreeable to them here, while Mr. Barillon goes on in his smooth civil way." Again, on the 18th, Montague writes—"reason of Rouvigny's journey:—his instructions are, if this does not take, (bribing the King) by the means of William Russell and other discontented people, to give a great deal of money, and cross all your measures at court." With these letters, Barillon's dispatches of that period perfectly correspond and tally, and derive from them all that additional strength which arises from junction and agreement. Rouvigny, on his arrival in London, "was introduced into a great commerce with the malecontented members of parliament, and made use of the particular friendship of his father with Mr. William Russell." A

CHAP. I. dispatch of the 14th of March contains an account of his first conferences with these *patriots*. Rouvigny had brought with him a large sum of money to be distributed among them. Lord Russell was above being bribed. When mention was made to him of money, he said, "he would be very sorry to have any commerce with men capable of being gained by it." French money, however, found persons less delicate and fastidious. The famous Algernon Sydney was wandering at this time a needy adventurer over the Continent. He was reduced to such straits, that in one of his letters* he declares, he did not know whether he would have bread for three months. In this situation he had been ever since the Restoration. On that event, General Monk generously offered him a free pardon and entire amnesty; but he preferred wandering abroad.

The man who had been contented to live under the iron yoke of Cromwell, who had lived under the outrageous despotism of the several swarms of fanatics who had preceded him, could not live under that ancient free government under which his ancestors for so many ages had flourished. The restoration of his lawful sovereign appeared to him an intolerable grievance. He raised up a most dismal cry and lamentation.—"But when that country of mine, which used to be esteemed a paradise (under Cromwell to be sure) is now like to be made a stage of infamy, &c. To live in his country was worse than dying†," &c. &c.

At length, whether determined by his pecuniary wants, which were every day increasing upon him, or sought out by France, who was looking round for some man to serve her purposes, he applied for leave to return home. This was in the beginning of 1678, and perfectly coincides with the mission of Rouvigny. Bishop Burnet, who had every means of information, and certainly was not partial *against* Sydney, expressly says, that "it was the court of

* Biog. Britt. Art. Sydney.

† Ibid.

France which obtained leave for him to return*.” How-
 ever that might be, it was to France he applied to relieve
 the distress under which he laboured. His father, the Earl
 of Leicester, had died soon after his arrival, and left him a
 legacy of five thousand pounds; but this had no effect in
 relieving him, as his elder brother disputed the payment
 of it; and he found himself involved “in a long and
 tedious suit in Chancery.” Rouvigny had returned home,
 after sufficiently sounding the coast, and leaving instruc-
 tions with Barillon how to proceed. It was to Barillon all
 who were disposed to become French pensioners, and live
 by French money, had to apply; and the eagerness of
 Sydney’s applications, and the voracious character of his
 corruption, are described in a dispatch of the 14th
 December, 1679:—“*Je ne lui ai donné que ce que votre
 Majesté m’a permis. Il auroit bien voulu avoir d’avantage,
 et si on lui faisoit quelque gratification nouvelle, il seroit
 aisé de l’engager entièrement.*” I only gave him what your
 Majesty permitted me. He would gladly have had more,
 and it would be easy, by some additional payment, entirely
 to secure him.—It was at this period he received the first
 payment set against his name in the accounts sent by
 Barillon to his court; viz. five hundred guineas. A little
 before had appeared that stain on our annals, the Popish
 Plot. That the French ministry paid Coleman, one of
 the victims in it; that by French influence, a kind of con-
 federacy and alliance was produced between him and the
patriots, has appeared from Lord Keeper North’s memo-
 randum. But France had no share in exciting the san-
 guinary treachery with which these *patriots*, just after this
 co-operation, turned on the unfortunate man, at whose table
 many of them had been hospitably entertained, and
 dragged him to the scaffold. This and the other murders
 which accompanied it, proceeded from their own ferocious
 zeal, mingled probably with a base desire of pleasing and
 gratifying the populace, ever greedy after blood. No

Algernon
 Sydney
 pensioner
 of France,
 1679.

* See the passage afterwards quoted at length.

CHAP. I. traces of French intrigue, to the honour of the French court be it remembered, are to be found in the whole series of the barbarous proceedings, founded on the Popish Plot. Neither do I observe the name of Sydney among the demagogues who signalized themselves on this occasion. It was not by any services of this kind he earned his five hundred guineas; and we may presume he would not have embrued his hands in blood.

But the prospect of the exclusion began to open itself; and during the agitation of this question, France most busily interfered, and seems to have been so elated by the ferment she stirred up, as to promise herself the complete gratification of all her views. She encouraged James to hold out against the measure, and promised him money and auxiliary troops, as inducements to raise the standard of armed resistance in Scotland. At the same time, she set every engine at work, to carry it through the parliament, and obtain or extort the King's consent. All the parliamentary leaders in her pay received what lawyers call *refreshers*; and two persons near the King's person, and who were supposed to have much personal influence over him, the Duchess of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland, were bribed to co-operate with their exertions. A disputed succession appeared a most tempting object. It must, in the first instance, inevitably beget universal confusion, and a weakening of the government; and would perhaps terminate in a civil war, which would lay England prostrate at the feet of France. All the competitors were to be animated, and new ones let in. With a view to extend the competition, or perhaps as part of the bribery applied to the Duchess of Portsmouth, her son by the King, the Duke of Richmond, was to be admitted as a candidate. But the two, between whom it was evident the principal contest would be maintained, the Prince of Orange, and the Duke of Monmouth, engaged the most anxious attention, and the nicest management was to be used to uphold and trim the balance between them. At one moment there was an appearance of a junction of men

in favour of the latter; and it was apprehended his scale might too decidedly preponderate. On this prospect, notwithstanding the constant hostility of the Prince of Orange to France, the French party was instructed to espouse his claims. Any event was deemed preferable to a chance of settlement and repose for England.

The scene exhibited during these violent party contentions, excited the most lively raptures in the French ambassador, as may be gathered from different passages in his dispatches; "Even though your Majesty's true interest was not to maintain the government of England in the form now established," writes he to his master in the height of the ferment, 4th November, 1680. Again, "I see what your Majesty has most at heart, is to prevent England from being re-united by an accommodation between his Britannic Majesty and his parliament." He had intimated, in a preceding dispatch, how much the pleasing confusion might be improved by a scheme "agitated in the cabals," that of annual parliaments, "which would entirely annihilate the royal authority," October 31, 1680. That this however was already pretty well done, we may conjecture by what he afterwards wrote:—"In the condition in which the affairs of England are, few princes will be very anxious to conclude alliances with his Britannic Majesty," 3rd February, 1681.

Lewis took his full share in the virtuous delight of his minister. On the 13th December, 1680, he wrote, expressing his satisfaction at the divisions in England, and the conduct of the republican party, or *patriots*, who, he begged might be assured he would take the tenderest care of the privileges of the nation.

Algernon Sydney, all this time, was not in a capacity to serve his patron and benefactor agreeably to his wishes in parliament. He had made two ineffectual attempts to obtain admission into the House of Commons.—The first, during the sitting of the Long Parliament, immediately after his return in 1678.—Again in the parliament which succeeded.—But though not in parliament, he is described

CHAP. I. by the French ambassador as eminently useful in laying secret trains among obscure and concealed persons, particularly in the city*, in keeping up a clamour in the Common Hall; and he, in effect, succeeded in getting one Bethel, a most violent fanatic, nominated sheriff, in opposition to the court, supported by the Lord Mayor.

His services were thought deserving of a second payment of five hundred guineas, as appears by an account referred to in a dispatch of Barillon, of December 5, 1680; making in all a thousand he received, according to the several accounts transmitted to the court of France.

I have related with strict impartiality, and the calm temper becoming an historian, without an attempt to excuse or palliate on the one hand, or any tendency to exaggeration on the other, the intrigues carried on in England by France, from 1677, to the period of the Exclusion Bill. I have disclosed the particulars of a system of bribery which extended from the King, and his ministers, and favourites, to the leading members in both Houses of Parliament. I have been guided in this part of my narrative, chiefly, if not wholly, by papers which Sir John Dalrymple declared he found in the *dépôt des affaires étrangères* at Paris, and has given to the public. The principal of these are the dispatches of Barillon the French ambassador, addressed immediately to his master Lewis XIV. I have given names just as I found them there; but I cannot dismiss the subject without taking notice of a most angry controversy which seems to have arisen, in a great measure, from the name of *one individual*, whom these papers implicate in the transactions in question, that of Algernon Sydney, whom it has been the fashion for a large and clamorous party to celebrate as a patriot and a hero, and who has singularly endeared his memory to the factious of all denominations and descriptions in this country.

For a considerable time Sydney's defenders seemed

* Dispatch, Dec. 5, 1680.

almost inclined to admit the fact of his being gained over CHAP. I.

by the French court; contending only that England had not suffered by his conduct, that it had been attended with no blameworthy effects. The genius and spirit of this scheme of apology may be collected from the passage of Burnet already referred to. "It was the court of France obtained leave for him to return in 1678, when the parliament was pressing the King into a war. He did all he could to divert people from that war; so that some took him for a pensioner of France: but to those to whom he durst speak freely, he said, he knew it was all a juggle; that our court was in an entire confidence with France, and had no other design, in this show of a war, but to raise an army, and keep it beyond sea till it was trained and modelled*." This then was the apology of Sydney himself, which was long the only one of his admirers. It may be thus interpreted without any very overstrained construction:—"I am, if you will have it, serving the purposes of France by my opposition of the war. I am acting wrong, just as a French pensioner might be supposed to do; but what then? If I acted right, the effect would be the same. There would be no war, though I supported it as strenuously as I now oppose it, for I know our court is *in an entire confidence with France*."

The first observation to be made on this defence is, that it was not true that *our court was in an entire confidence with France*, at the period in question. France herself shewed her conviction that this was not the case, by stopping the pension she had paid the King. The correspondence of Barillon is full to the same effect, and he had no reason to conceal or disguise the truth, in writing to his court. Besides his dispatch of the 18th of April, 1678, already quoted, there is a prior one of the 24th of January the same year, in which he mentions that so persuaded was James, who had not yet prevailed upon himself to give up his attachment to the French connection,

* Hist. v. i. p. 300.

CHAP. I. that the King and his advisers were in earnest against France, tears came to his eyes in speaking on the subject, and he adjured the ambassador to urge the most earnest entreaties to his master not to take any steps which might confirm this growing disposition. Will it be said that he was a stranger to the views and dispositions of his brother? Lord Danby too, who was at the head of the ministry, and in direct hostility to the French interest, whom France was at the very time setting all her agents at work to supplant, in a letter which I shall have occasion to quote before I conclude this discussion, confirms the same fact. His situation near the King gave him the best means of information, and he would be prompted by his own inclinations and views of policy to watch all the changes and veerings of his mind upon the subject with particular vigilance and anxiety.

It is true, Charles, in the general bent of his inclination and tenor of his policy, was favourable to France; but this consideration only afforded an additional reason to improve the moment in which an unexpected change appeared to have taken place, to urge and stimulate him by every means both in and out of parliament to a war which might have destroyed French power and ascendancy: whereas the conduct of Sydney furnished him with a pretext at least, to pause and deliberate, and gradually relapse into his old habits. Might he not have said, or his confidential friends for him, James and his party, who were not thoroughly reconciled to a French war, Can you doubt that the proposed war would be injurious to the country, when you see that those great patriots, Algernon Sydney and his associates, so strenuously oppose it?

That their proceeding was *indifferent*, producing neither good nor evil *as to the main effect*, was the drift and substance of their defence. Lord Danby and the Prince of Orange may be allowed to have been competent to form some judgment on this point. Danby, writing to the Prince, just at the period of Sydney's activity, April 16, 1678, has these words—"Above all, I must confess, that

I lament the condition both of my master and yourself, CHAP. I.
who have more difficulty to save your friends at home,
than you would have to beat your enemies, if our parlia-
ment and your states would do what they ought, for the
preservation both of themselves and the rest of Christen-
dom. *Whereas I do from my soul believe they contribute
more to the service of the French King, and to his successes,
than the best army he has could do*.*" The Prince's
answer conveys an acquiescence in this opinion.

The admirers and partisans of Sydney, of the present day,
have abandoned this scheme of defence or apology. They
are too good logicians and moralists, not to be aware that
it rests on a principle absolutely untenable in morality;
that a man has a right to do what he knows to be posi-
tively wrong, and benefit himself by so doing—and that
under the imputation, at least, of the worst motives—
because he flatters himself his conduct will lead to no
injurious result, that there are circumstances in action to
disarm it of any effect one way or the other. They have
therefore generally, I believe, agreed to deny the fact,
maintaining there was no connection whatever between
Sydney and the French court or ambassador: but, in order
to establish this denial, they must get rid of Barillon's
dispatches which stare them in the face.

I have not met with any positive charge against Sir
John Dalrymple, who transcribed them from the French
dépôt, and gave them to the public. I do not know that
any have been found to assert he pretended to transcribe
what was not in existence, and that his publication is to
be regarded as an impudent forgery; but frequent expres-
sions are hazarded impeaching his fidelity, and no occasion
is omitted of treating him with singular asperity. This
is remarkable in the late work of Mr. Fox. The poor
baronet, considered as a writer or a reasoner upon history,
was utterly below the vehemence of Mr. Fox's censures.
In his style and mode of narration he is absolutely ridicu-

* Danby's Letters.

CHAP. I. lous. They compose an admirable burlesque on the manner of Tacitus. Mr. Fox could not have produced an instance of his want of reasoning powers stronger than the very case of Sydney. Notwithstanding the facts which he has himself disclosed, Dalrymple goes along with the crowd in celebrating him as the miracle of patriots; and when he comes to recount the manner of his death, he exerts and strains all his bombast and rhodomontade to fix upon him the enthusiastic admiration of the reader. The only reason then that can be assigned for this vehemence, is a sort of spleen and vexation excited by the discovery in those who are resolved on all suppositions to admire Sydney, and a secret hope by means of general censure to preserve the question in a state of doubt and obscurity favourable to their argument.

That Dalrymple was a faithful transcriber of what he found can admit of no doubt at present. He has been followed in the *dépôt* by Mr. Fox, and if we may judge by his expressions respecting Sydney*, he was not deficient in zeal to vindicate his memory, or detect any imposition, or so much as error of the worthy baronet. Yet not a word has escaped his pen to this effect. He and Dalrymple have published papers from the *dépôt* relating precisely to the same period, and upon comparison no material variation will be found between them. The opinion at present most generally received among the advocates for Sydney's purity and patriotism attacks not the fidelity of Sir John Dalrymple, but the honesty and veracity of Barillon himself. He wrote what he is supposed to have done to his court, but his narratives were all false. He pocketed the money which he represented as paying to Sydney and the patriots. I am not certain whether the whole story of French intrigue and bribery in England is not to be treated as a fabrication, or whether the falsehood attaches only to the precise donations said

* "His name, it is hoped, will be for ever dear to every English heart."
—"The sound of his name is animating to every Englishman."

to have been made to Sydney, and perhaps two or three favourite names may be added to his. On the one hand it is difficult to imagine that immense sums should have passed safely through the hands of Barillon, uniformly reaching their destination, except in the particular instance of Sydney. There must have been something magical in the name to have produced sudden and insulated fraud. On the other, if there was no system of bribery or intrigue whatever carried on through the agency of Barillon, what becomes of the charges against James II. urged with so much force by Mr. Fox, and occupying so large a space in the few chapters of his historical work which he lived to finish? Was Charles II. too pure of French corruption? or is it to be laid down as a canon of criticism, that Barillon's evidence is good against kings and ministers, but not against popular leaders and reputed patriots*? Besides the system of intrigue and bribery, in general, does not rest upon his authority alone. Were Rouvigny and Courtin, his predecessors, as deficient in honesty and veracity as he was? Is the letter of Montague to Danby no confirmation of his narrative? In his dispatch of the 10th of October, 1678, Barillon informs his master that the popular party were to depute a *Sieur Falaiseau* as their messenger to him.—Surely this messenger is a witness in his favour.

Every one at all conversant with the history of Lewis XIV. knows that he was through life absolutely a man of business, exercising a personal inspection over all, even the minutest departments of his government. Those beautiful adulatory lines of Boileau—

“*Qui seul, sans ministre à l'exemple des dieux
Soutiens tout par toi-même, et vois tout par tes yeux,*”

conveyed a good deal of truth. He was particularly attentive to pecuniary details. In all his letters to Barillon

* See the value set upon Barillon's dispatches by Mr. Fox as exhibiting the corruption of the court. They are worth their worth in gold, he says.

CHAP. I. that have been published, for most of which we are indebted to Mr. Fox, but few having been given to us by Sir John Dalrymple, there reigns no small care and vigilance with respect to the sums he had entrusted to him for distribution in England. The accounts of the ambassador are drawn out with a minute exactitude:—"so much remained in my hands as well in bills of exchange as in cash at such a date; since when so much has been expended." Then follows a list of the disbursements, distinguishing with the nicest accuracy English and French money. Is it probable that a man like Lewis XIV. would require no manner of proof or voucher as to those disbursements, not perhaps an actual receipt, but such a voucher as the circumstances of the transaction would admit of? If any fresh proof were wanting of the spirit of economy, almost of parsimony, which pervaded the English dealings of the French monarch, it is supplied by Lord Danby's Letters. Montague, writing to him January 18, 1678, says, "Old Rouvigny, that values himself for knowing England, and having saved so much money as he had."—"For Barillon's orders are to make the market as low as he can." Whatever cogency there is in what is called *internal evidence*, attaches to the narrative of Barillon. There is a distinct attention paid to the characters of men. Lord Russell was probably as little known to Lewis XIV. as Sydney or Shaftsbury. If Barillon was inventing the names of those who took his money, why should he not throw him into the crowd? Yet, while he represents others as having been willing to be bribed, Lord Russell's feelings, he says, rose at the bare mention of money.

I find great reliance placed by some on a passage in one of Madame de Sevigné's Letters. According to them, it entirely destroys the credit of Barillon, convicting him of a disposition to embezzle money whenever an opportunity offered itself. I will transcribe the original, and subjoin as faithful a translation as I can:—"Barillon a fait ici un grand séjour. Il s'en va puisque vous lui com-

mandez d'être à son devoir. Votre exemple le confond : son emploi est admirable cette année. Il mangera cinquante mille francs ; mais il sçait bien où les prendre." Barillon has staid here a long time. He is going, since your commands are that he should be where his duty calls him. Your example confounds him. His employment is excellent *this year*. He will spend fifty thousand livres ; but he knows where to get them. The date of the letter from which the passage is extracted is of the utmost importance. It is April 20, 1672. If the lucrative employment referred to could be supposed to mean the English embassy, the money he knew where to find, might be interpreted, the sums he is accused of intercepting from the patriots, and charging to his master. But it is certain he was not English ambassador that year.—Monsieur Colbert de Crossy filled the situation. He was succeeded by Rouvigny and Courtin, who were all in order of time before Barillon. The note to the passage above quoted in the excellent new edition of Madame de Sevigné's Letters by Grouvelle, "*Monsieur de Barillon étoit ambassadeur en Angleterre*" is a mistake. I do not know what the employment in question was. Some of my readers who have more various access to French books than I have at present, may be able to discover it. But both it and the means of supply it afforded are precisely fixed and confined to "*cette année*," 1672, five years before Barillon went over to England as ambassador. There is no evidence that those means were not perfectly free from blame. Such evidence is absolutely necessary as a link in the chain of argument. When this link is supplied, I will allow the argument its degree of force ; but in the mean time I cannot entertain such strange notions of Madame de Sevigné's moral feelings, as to bring myself to think, she would treat in so light and easy a manner, an act of such complicated turpitude and disgrace, as embezzling money confided to an ambassador by his sovereign in person, and covering the theft by an accusa-

CHAP. I. tion of the most grave and serious import against persons
 — of rank and eminence in their country.

Nothing the advocates for Sydney appear more anxious for, than to rest the controversy on the issue of character. They exclaim in a tone of defiance, will any one pretend to set the honesty or veracity of Barillon against the patriotic character of Sydney?

Barillon. It is not in my power to collect many particulars of the life of Barillon. We know he was for many years ambassador in England; a situation of considerable distinction and confidence, for which he was selected by a discerning monarch. During the course of his embassy he was entrusted by the same monarch with sums amounting to several millions of money. We find by the letters of Madame de Sevigné, that he was among the few of exquisite taste and literature admitted into the intimate society of that accomplished woman and her beautiful daughter. He was the friend of the "godlike Turenne*." These are circumstances which impress us with a general good opinion of his character. At least, we shall not easily believe that such a man was capable of a kind of speculation and theft, which would disgrace the meanest swindler. A prepossession may arise in the mind of a mere English reader from the circumstance of his being a Frenchman; but we are not to judge of France and Frenchmen at that day, by what we have seen lately, or what was exhibited a little before the catastrophe of the late monarch. France presented the appearance of the highest civilization, but that civilization had but slenderly run out into those vices which may be deemed its natural growth when arrived at its last stage of morbid refinement. There was honour among the men, and chastity among the women. The courtiers were the first gentlemen of the nation, and one of these was Barillon.

* Lettres de Sevigné, vol. iv. p. 13, new edit. read the passage.

With respect to Sydney, it has been the study of many of our writers to trick him out in all the gaudy ostentatious colours of patriotism and public virtue. CHAP. I.

When the name of a *British patriot* is held out to us, we naturally pause, and are arrested by all those emotions which arise on the contemplation of the noblest of human characters.

Liberty is the idol of the *British patriot*. He cherishes, he adores it; he clings to it with the same eager grasp as the weeping matron holds fast the altar of her household gods. But liberty to his well taught and regulated fancy is not a wide uncircumscribed metaphysical thing. It is not the liberty of Greece or Rome, or any country but his own. The liberty he loves is *English* liberty; what he finds embodied and defined in the laws and institutions of England, handed down to him through a long line of canonized forefathers, endeared to him by a multitude of associations. In the number of these associations is the *kingly* authority. This he reveres as the keystone of that *magnificent arch which spans the circumference of ages*. As a philosopher he knows the advantages which it produces in protection, in security, in the bland, liberal spirit it diffuses, softening and correcting what is harsh and rugged in popular forms and popular institutions. But to the reasonings of the *philosopher* he joins the feelings of the *gentleman*. In his character of a *gentleman*, he is attached to his king with a portion of that passion and enthusiasm which he feels for liberty. His chivalrous imagination environs him with majesty and sanctity; but these several passions and attachments are collected into one,—the love of his country. For this he is ready to pour out his most precious blood. The bare notion of any foreign powers lording it over his country excites him to the proudest indignation, rouses him to the most intrepid exertion. To his country represented in the person of her king, his sword is for ever devoted.

Character
of a British
patriot.

When we go over the public life of Sydney we are struck by the precise contrast to this picture. At the

CHAP. I. beginning of the civil wars we find him where his character of a *gentleman* taught him to be,—under the standard of his sovereign. He went over to Ireland with a commission from the King, where his father occupied the place of lord-lieutenant. He had not been there long when he obtained the King's permission to return to England; but on his way, as he pretended, to join the King, he contrived to fall into the hands of the rebels. That this was a contrivance of his may be reasonably presumed, for he immediately accepted a military command from them, and likewise two thousand pounds*, which can be considered in no other light than as the price of his desertion. He then went to Ireland, and approved himself there the zealous champion of the rebels, so that on the 8th of April, 1647, it was voted in their parliament "that Colonel Sydney be considered for his good services†." His conduct and exertions were so much in the spirit which animated them, that he was thought a fit person to be named as one of the judges of the unfortunate Charles, when it was determined among the most bloody and fanatical of the party to drag him to the scaffold, and actually sat on the bench during the progress of the mock trial‡. He did not sign the death warrant, which circumstance of omission has been alleged by his advocates to excuse him; a despicable piece of casuistry, which may be suspected, but cannot be proved to have influenced himself.

His imaginary commonwealth, which was ever his watchword and pretext, planted on the ruins of the ancient free constitution of his country, and refreshed with the blood of his King, did not long survive them. That happened which will ever happen as long as human nature exists.—The first soldier of fortune, who had sense and discernment enough to laugh at speculative republicans, reformers, haranguers, writers of *discourses* and

* Whitelock's Mem. p. 233.

† Ibid. 242.

‡ Biographia Brit. Art. Sydney.

pamphlets, turned the whole motley tribe out of doors, and assumed the sovereign rule. This has been the course of things in all ages and countries; and that such will ever be the result of overturning any ancient scheme of society, is a maxim to which history does not furnish a single exception, and which may be laid down with something like mathematical certainty. They who had been so petulant and flippant under the ambiguous sway of Charles, who had been so ready to fly to arms at every the least appearance of illegal government, at every overstretch of an undefined prerogative, took care to preserve the most respectful silence under the coarse, unqualified, unmitigated military despotism of Cromwell. They knew the answer he made when Harrington, one of the political visionaries of the time, tried to persuade him to fall in with some of his rhapsodies:—"The gentleman had like to trepan him out of his power, but that what he had got by the sword he would not quit for a little paper shot*."

Sydney, who wrote in the Album at Copenhagen those flourishing lines, so often quoted by his admirers—

—— "Manus hæc inimica tyrannis
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietum,"

prudently took the hint given to Harrington. He, who had been so warlike against his lawful sovereign, never drew his sword against Cromwell. It was fated that the sword of this "*manus inimica tyrannis*" should never be brandished, but against his King and the laws of his country. He lay retired during the period of the usurpation in some small town of Cornwall, amusing himself, while his country was bleeding under the sword of the usurper, with visions of commonwealths, and liberty, and the rights of the people founded on Grecian and Roman story. His conduct at the Restoration, his circumstances while wandering abroad, and his return to England in 1678, have been already noticed.

One only anecdote remains to be mentioned, for which we are indebted to his friend and admirer, Burnet.

* Toland's Life of Harrington, prefixed to his Oceana.

CHAP. I. A maxim relating to what may be called political prudence and discretion, was laid down in a preceding page, accompanied by the assertion, that history did not furnish a single exception to it. As Sydney's *patriotic* career was in disregard of this, it was equally in violation of a law of political morality, of pre-eminent sanctity, and which is equally without an exception. The whole history of the patriots of antiquity is a practical comment upon it; and while Sydney was searching ancient writers for models of republics, and principles of visionary liberty, it might have been expected to have laid hold of his mind, and regulated his conduct. The first duty of the *patriot* or good citizen is to maintain the *independence* of his country. No object of domestic change, not what he may deem the most necessary reform or revolution, will justify him in acting in such a manner as will bring a foreign yoke upon his country. He is not even to hazard the risk of such an event.— Yet what did Sydney do?—During the progress of the first Dutch war, “Algernon Sydney, and some others of the Commonwealth party,” says Burnet, “came to De Witt, and pressed him to think of an invasion of England and Scotland, and gave him great assurances of a strong party: and they were bringing many officers to Holland to join in the undertaking. They dealt also with some in Amsterdam, who were particularly sharpened against the King, and were for turning England again into a commonwealth. The matter was for some time in agitation at the Hague, but De Witt was against it, and got it to be laid aside*.”

We may be allowed to conjecture, that so excellent a patriot as De Witt really was, so true a lover of the country that gave him birth, was disgusted by the proposition of these pseudo-patriots; and as he would have spurned at the Dutchman that would have thought of bringing an English army into Holland for the purpose of new modelling its government, so he felt inward contempt

* Hist. v. i. p. 127.

for the Englishman who pressed for an invasion of England, which was increased by the very plea made use of, and was the reason of the repulse the project experienced. He who could harbour the notion of invading England at the head of a Dutch army, and conquering it into a commonwealth, might easily persuade himself, at a subsequent period, under the influence of that vicious logic which corrupt self-interest is often known to beget on raving fanaticism, to accept of French money and assistance for the same laudable purpose. CHAP. I.

There is nothing in this short sketch which has been fairly traced of the public life of Sydney, up to his connection with the French ambassador, to give his character such a decided preponderance, that the latter must, in compliment to him, be stigmatized with every epithet which belongs to the basest of mankind. It appears by several instances of Sydney's life, that he was willing enough to take money, whoever offered it. He was in a state of deplorable indigence when he applied to the French ambassador, which was probably the reason he received so small a sum for his services. The ambassador's orders were "to make the market as low as he could;" that is, to be as frugal as possible in the distribution of the money entrusted to him. In conformity to these orders he took advantage of the wants which pressed upon Sydney, and paid him, not according to his rank and character, but to his poverty. This is an answer to those who urge the smallness of the bribe as a proof of the falsity of the charge.

Sir John Dalrymple, having produced the damning truth against Sydney, by way of appeasing the clamorous herd whom the discovery would irritate, says, with much simplicity, "that he was anxious in perusing the French dispatches, to discover the principles upon which Algernon Sydney could possibly reconcile to his own pride his intrigues." Excited by this benevolent anxiety, he has found out a letter of Barillon, dated September 30, 1680. Sydney's reasoning, as described in this letter, is certainly

CHAP. I. very curious :—Sydney argues, that it is the French King's interest to forward the establishment of a republic in England. The monarchy might have the Prince of Orange at its head, and thereby a close connection be formed between England and Holland. Further, such a monarch would consult the interests and inclinations of his subjects and call forth their best energies.—England would rise the proud, magnificent rival of France. But let the French King give her a republican form of government, and she will sink into an insignificant commercial state, and French ambition encounter no opposition. On these terms was Sydney content to purchase his darling republic—of this stamp was this celebrated republican.—Such was his regard for the independence of his country, and the greatness which could alone secure it.

Another motive which he conceives Lewis would have to favour a republic, was *the Catholic* zeal, by which he was known to be animated. If we did not know how easily men persuade themselves of what falls in with their interests or passions, we should be at a loss to comprehend how a man like Sydney could seriously bring himself to think the most Catholic of monarchs would, from the impulse of his Catholic bigotry, be disposed to patronize the inventors and prosecutors of the Popish Plot. The reader will have remarked the extraordinary and material discrepancy of opinion between those two great patriots, Algernon Sydney and Mr. Fox; one becoming a pensioner of the French court, on the ground that all its intrigues and machinations were directed to the introduction of a republic; and the other strenuously contending that its sole object was the establishment of an absolute monarchy. I believe the notions of both were groundless; but as I am convinced by the reasonings of Sydney, that a republic would have the greatest effect in weakening and depressing England, I am disposed to think his theory the more plausible.—But whatever was the *object* of French counsels, the *result* was very near verifying the opinion of Mr. Fox.

It appeared that the plan of Charles was sagaciously laid.—France hoped by the inconsiderate zeal with which her agents pushed forward the measure of the exclusion to reduce the authority of the King, and to reap an abundant harvest of confusion and distraction in the almost entire dissolution of the Government. But she was disappointed.

It was proved on this, as on many other occasions, that the fanaticism of blind or false patriotism has a direct tendency to the establishment of absolute power. It was only by an extraordinary and providential combination of circumstances that the constitutional liberties of England were not wholly subverted by the proceedings of the same Sydney, who had already plotted against her independence by his exertions to prevent her junction with the powers confederated in the cause of Europe. Whatever doubts may be entertained as to the injurious result of his conduct in the latter case—and on doubts of this kind rested his own apology, according to Burnet—there can be none in the former.—History has recorded the effects of the obstinacy and vehemence of the demagogues, among whom Sydney held a conspicuous place, in the business of the exclusion. Their object was to humble and distress the Government, and extort from it whatever terms they pleased; but Government, on the contrary, was strengthened beyond all just measure and proportion by their proceedings.—Moderate men were alarmed, and in the confusion of alarm imprudently armed the sovereign with greater authority, than they themselves, on calm reflection, would have deemed advisable. All the enemies of the court of every description were laid prostrate; Lord Russell, Sydney himself, the principal leaders perished on the scaffold. Their followers were dispersed and terrified.—The gross multitude, ever ready to hoot or applaud, according to the fashion of the times, beheld, without the least expression of concern, those very men under the hands of the executioner, whose zeal their clamours had but recently animated, whose triumphant processions their

CHAP. I. numbers had but recently swelled. The clergy of the established church forgot their fears of a Popish successor in their animosity against the Presbyterians and Sectaries, whom they regarded as the principal auxiliaries and abettors of the demagogues.—The creed of slavery became the reigning doctrine of the day, and every notion of rights in the people, the very name of liberty was scouted and exploded. James, who had several times been expelled the kingdom, and who had been so near sinking under the torrent against him, now saw himself possessed of unlimited power and influence. He was restored to the office of High Admiral of England without taking the test, in defiance of an express act of parliament.—His anti-chamber was more crowded than that of the King himself. It was a current saying, that the King, resolved to mortify those who would have excluded him from the succession, had thought proper to transfer the crown to him during his own life. Every thing indicated a nation prepared for unconditional submission to the will of the monarch, whatever that might be, when the death of Charles II. Charles raised James to the throne, the 6th of February, 1685, under the title of James II.

His character.

The character of Charles has been lately treated with great, and I think, deserved severity by the pen of Mr. Fox.—It is certain that an air of politeness and gaiety thrown over it, had prejudiced former historians in its favour, and induced them to conceal or palliate the many radical vices and defects that are to be found in the conduct of this Prince. Whether we consider him in reference to foreign powers, or in his domestic administration, there is hardly any thing which does not call for our severest censure.—In some transactions he is exposed to our unqualified abhorrence.—He never seems to have recollected the dignity of a British monarch, but for wages to supply his dissoluteness and extravagance meanly solicited, and parsimoniously granted, to have become the prostituted tool of the French court.

Many of his pecuniary transactions with France have

been noticed.—His mean and ambiguous policy in almost the only meritorious act of his reign, the triple alliance, has been traced. He has been detected at the very time he was opposing himself to French ambition, casting a longing, lingering look at French connection and French money; gradually approximating himself to France; and, at last, with desperate profligacy, throwing himself into the arms of that power by the declaration of the second Dutch war. This war, and all the counsels which led to it and accompanied it, have been branded by all writers as they deserve. But a French statesman*, who had the best means of information, has revealed to us an anecdote on the subject of the war with Holland, which adds to the character of public depravity that of private wickedness, and holds out the King to us in no better light than that of a murderer. He had conceived, it seems, a deadly animosity against pensionary De Witt, and had resolved to accomplish his destruction. He, in pursuance of these views, continued the feint of the triple alliance, and added all sorts of caresses and flatteries to detach the pensionary from the French connection which had been his strength and support; and having succeeded in this stratagem, set every engine at work in the French court to determine France to a war of vengeance against Holland. Is it too much too say he was a principal accessory in the murder which followed of that virtuous minister?

His behaviour during the proceedings of the Popish Plot was a most signal sacrifice of private feeling and morality; though, perhaps, an hypocrisy imposed upon him by the necessity of the times. It is well known he constantly treated the whole plot as a heap of absurdities. He did not believe one word of the charges against any of the persons accused by the contrivers of it. He must have regarded them with a sort of tenderness and affection common among fellow religionists, for he was at the time a secret adherent of the Catholic religion. Yet he put the seal on

* Gourville, quoted by Hume and M'Pherson.

CHAP. I. their condemnation, and signed the warrants for their execution. He had not the feeling or spirit to make use of his prerogative of pardoning, though urged to the exercise of it by all the leanings of his heart, and the conviction of his understanding.—He preferred imbruing his hands in the blood of men whom he knew to be innocent, and for whom he harboured no small fondness and partiality, rather than incur any possible risk from the heated temper of the populace.

Strictures
on the Con-
stitution of
the English
Govern-
ment,
during his
reign.

But the history of this Prince will not produce its proper fruit, if it excites us only to feelings of indignation and censure. It is chiefly important, as it displays the constitution of these kingdoms in the state and posture to which some of our pretended reformers wish to restore it.

The House of Commons was what they contend it should be,—the assembly of the people, faithful to all the fugitive opinions of the multitude, the echo of all their clamours. The reign of influence had not yet a regular commencement.—No principle had yet been infused into the composition of the Commons to create a gentle but permanent bias in favour of the Government. The Government had no other foundation to stand upon but *prerogative*.—Prerogative had been essentially curtailed, compared with what it was in the reigns of the Tudors, when it absorbed the whole Government; but it was still much more powerful than it is at present. It had not yet received any very regular limits—was not circumscribed with much precision. There was a circumstance too, in this reign, which gave prerogative an extraordinary support, and strengthened it beyond the mere adjustment of the Constitution.—The House of Commons, which sat during the greatest part of it, elected at the joyful period of the Restoration, came with every prepossession in favour of the Crown, and this leaning might be supposed to have superseded the necessity of *influence*; so that we contemplate things in the most favourable point of view, to enable us to judge how far *prerogative* can preserve the equipoise of the political machine, and impress upon it a

regularity of movement, acting in conjunction with a *mere* CHAP. I.
popular assembly, armed with powers which are sufficient
to arrest the whole government, as the House of Commons
undoubtedly is.

The Commons, during the period of loyal enthusiasm succeeding the Restoration, did not shew much anxiety and vigilance respecting the prerogative in general.—They even contributed to extend and amplify it; but as the assembly was a vehicle to all the little sentiments and passions of the multitude, it was even at this time distinguished by a parsimonious and fretful concession of pecuniary supplies. In proportion as the loyal enthusiasm subsided, this parsimonious disposition became still more vexatious. The Long Parliament was not yet dissolved, when the French ambassador wrote to his court, the King had confessed to him he was so poor, that he was obliged to recal all his foreign ambassadors for want of money*.

Mr. Fox, in the vehemence of his zeal against the Stuarts, and in general against the cause of royal authority and conduct, is no wise shocked; but, on the contrary, delivers it as his deliberate opinion, that the economy practised during the whole of this reign was no more than proper. Admitting it entitled to this character in the judgment of an unprejudiced observer, which is the situation Mr. Fox assumed in pronouncing the opinion, it is not to be forgotten, that the King, in this case, was *not* an unprejudiced observer.—No king will bear a perpetual teasing control on his expenses and conduct. He will unavoidably exert himself to shake it off. Wherever there is a king, it must be provided he shall be at his ease.—If he is not so by regular means, he will have recourse to irregular expedients for the purpose.

While, therefore, we condemn, and it is impossible to do it with too much severity, the willingness of Charles to become a pensioner of France, we must acknowledge that this lamentable effect was in some measure occasioned by the circumstances of his situation, under a popular assembly.

* 23rd January, 1679.

CHAP. I. However little pleased the multitude are to pay their money, however strong the propensity to a penurious and jealous parsimony which distinguishes all *popular* assemblies, they are extremely apt to be allured by the glare of military glory; they are easily involved in the ferment of warlike passions; and without much deliberation rush into wars. But after a little time, they are fatigued by the yoke of the expense. Their spirit droops and falls; their vanity is exhausted; and they eagerly escape out of the hostilities into which they eagerly precipitated themselves. This was literally exemplified in the first Dutch war. The war was no wise desired by the King or his ministers*; but they were hurried into it *by the impetuosity of the members of the House of Commons*; that is, as the House was then constituted, by the clamours of the multitude. They were soon, however, deserted by the multitude. The pecuniary supplies necessary to carry on the war were precariously and reluctantly granted. The result was, that the Dutch fleet sailed triumphantly up the Thames, and the capital itself was thrown into the utmost consternation for its safety.

How sunk and degraded England was with relation to the great system of power in Europe, in the opinion of the French ambassador, at this juncture, has already appeared by some extracts from his dispatches. A few more to the same effect may be added. The whole seems sometimes to have assumed in his eyes the appearance of a comedy, and to have actually amused him:—"What I write to your majesty will appear, without doubt, very extraordinary; but England has no resemblance to other countries;" November 4, 1680. "No one can be sure of any thing in this country;" October 24, 1678. A vein of mockery and derision is easily perceptible in these passages. That he came seriously to the conclusion, his court was throwing away its money in bribing the King of England, is evident from the following:—"The King's

* Life of James II. written by himself.—M'Pherson, v. i. p. 28.

power, by the factions in his own dominions, is entirely sunk. An alliance with him would therefore be of no advantage with regard to foreign affairs; and it is better to continue to court the heads of parties, in order to continue his difficulties;" May 8, 1679. CHAP. I.

In confirmation of this opinion, Hume* tells us, that when, in the year 1680, a little before the agitation of the exclusion bill, the King of England offered the Dutch his alliance, they were so terrified with the great power of France, and saw so little resource in a country so distracted as England, that they declined acceptance.

Much of the censure will no doubt be bestowed on the King himself, and probably not without just grounds; but the radical defect was in the frame of the Government, in which the multitude possessed a direct and overpowering influence.

If this influence was so pernicious with a view to the power of the nation, it was no less so with reference to domestic peace and happiness, to the security and tranquillity of individuals.

It cannot be concealed—it ought not be disguised—Whoever arms the multitude with authority, sets in motion a thirst for blood. This thirst may be more or less restrained and controlled by circumstances; but the principle is always to be traced; and this appetite is singularly whetted by something of the marvellous and prodigious in the story which excites it. Never, then, was an imposture so admirably compounded to gratify the crowd as the *Popish Plot*. Its extreme absurdity added charms to the cruel and vindictive spirit which animated it. A House of Commons that discharged its proper functions in the Constitution, would have applied itself to stem this popular current. It would have soothed, it would have by degrees calmed the popular ferment; it would have interposed doubt; it would have suggested inquiry. But at this time, every shout of the populace

* Hist. v. viii. p. 126.

CHAP. I found a faithful echo within doors ; so that little debate or discussion took place. The House was a correct image of the state of popular passion, or rather frenzy, which prevailed. The King's ministers were terrified and confounded. Acquainted with their master's sentiments, and perhaps themselves superior to the vulgar clamour, they would often have moderated or diverted some of the more violent propositions. It is curious to observe, in Grey's Debates, the oblique movements they make for this purpose. They are obliged to preface any sentiment bordering on moderation by a display of more than common violence. They must seem to go all the lengths of the fanaticism around them, in hopes of gaining some little point for their King*. If to be thoroughly and entirely popular is the true standard of merit in a House of Commons, never can there be one more meritorious than that which hurried on the destruction of so many victims, on an absurd and improbable fiction.

Nor was the thirst of the multitude appeased by the blood of any one party or faction. The same popularity which had attended Charles's government during the prosecution of the Popish Plot, applauded the vengeance discharged on the persons implicated in the Rye-House Conspiracy. Any plot was welcome, provided blood was shed. Those who lament the fall of Russell and Sydney cannot be ignorant that they fell to the entire satisfaction of the far greater number of the people of England.

What is the inference I would deduce from these remarks ? Can it be denied, that liberty rightly understood is an inestimable blessing ; and can liberty in any sense be regarded as at all secure, if those who are to enjoy it, the people, are without some share of power and control in the government ?

This control, to operate beneficently, should operate indirectly and circuitously. It is through bye channels

* Read Secretary Coventry, and Secretary Williamson's Speeches, November 4, 1678.

as it were, that it should arrive at its ultimate effect. This **CHAP. I.**
cannot be adjusted by any positive contrivance. It is the ———
work of time and accidents; it is the gift of fortune.
Woe to the nation which, so gifted, shall presume to
unsettle the happy disposition of parts, the mixture of
opposite ingredients to which it is indebted for this envi-
able distinction.

CHAPTER II.

Reign of James II.—Eyes of Parties turned to the Prince of Orange.—The Prince prepares to pass over to England with an Army.—His Preparations, Naval and Military.—Lands at Torbay—proceeds to London.—Flight of James.—Strictures on his Character.

James
proclaimed
King.

JAMES was, immediately on the death of his brother, proclaimed King by the title of James II. Scarcely had his predecessor expired, when, assembling the privy council, he addressed them in a short speech. The following words in it are remarkable, as contrasted with his subsequent conduct :—"I have been reported to be a man for arbitrary power; but that is not the only story that has been made of me: and I shall make it my endeavour to preserve the government *both in church and state*, as it is now by law established. I know the principles of the Church of England are for monarchy, and the members of it have shewn themselves good and loyal subjects; *therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it.*"

He made few alterations in the ministry of his deceased brother. The treasury he took out of commission, and created the Earl of Rochester, brother of his first wife, Lord Treasurer.

His minis-
ters.

Lord Rochester, Lord Halifax, and Lord Sunderland, are the ministers whose characters deserve to be explained, as representing the different parties in the nation.

Lord
Rochester.

Lord Rochester enjoyed and deserved the confidence of the Church or Tory party, by far the most considerable in numbers. Like them he had no objection to measures as they tended to make the King absolute. He was restrained by no principles of *civil* liberty; he was entirely

devoted to the prerogative. In his zeal for what he con-
 ceived the service of his master, he actively concurred in
 proceedings which we may hope many of the most strenu-
 ous Tories and High Churchmen would have disapproved
 of. He had been privy to the pecuniary negociations car-
 ried on with France in the late reign; and when James
 renewed them immediately after his accession, we find him
 a principal agent in forwarding them. But though he felt
 no concern for liberty, or good government merely of a *po-
 litical* character, it was not so with the Protestant religion,
 and the ecclesiastical interests of the Church party. Here
 he was proof against all the arts of seduction:—on this
 head no compliance could be obtained from him.

CHAP. II.

1685.

The Marquis of Halifax, who was continued President ^{Lord}
 of the Council, may be considered as representing the ^{Halifax.}
 Whigs, or friends of *civil* liberty in the administration; a
 party to which some men of high rank and splendid fortunes
 stedfastly adhered; but which was generally obnoxious
 in the nation. He did not indeed profess himself a Whig;
 nor was he claimed by them as an associate. He was, on
 the contrary, stigmatized by them with the name of
Trimmer; but his notions of government appear to have
 been large and liberal, and such as were, at that time, in a
 great measure confined to the Whigs. Towards the end
 of the reign of Charles, a question came to be agitated in
 council, concerning the modelling of the charters of the
 British colonies in North America. Lord Halifax took a
 conspicuous part in the debate, maintaining that a country
 inhabited by Englishmen should be governed by the
 same laws as obtained in England, insisting on all the
 arguments which prove that an absolute government is
 neither so happy nor so secure as one that is tempered by
 law, and which prescribes limits to the authority of the
 prince*. With opinions of this tendency, he was not
 likely to be much in the confidence of the King, who was
 accustomed through life to refer every thing to the royal

* Fox's App.

CHAP. II. prerogative. He was continued in place for a short time, merely, as it should seem, from motives of delicacy and generosity. He had been a most able and eloquent advocate against the measure of the exclusion; and to his exertions it was thought owing that it was rejected by the House of Lords. James, therefore, at the beginning of his reign, thought proper to pay him the handsome compliment, that he would remember only his conduct on that occasion.

1685.

With respect to religion, a consideration of so much importance in this reign, he is noticed in the correspondence of the French monarch*, as having none at all. This, at first, perhaps, no wise prepossessed the monarch against him. He might be led to think, that neutral and indifferent among all religions, he would be disposed to adopt that which was most in favour; but it was soon discovered, that without any very strong leaning in favour of any, he hated the Catholic according to the fashion of those with whom he chiefly conversed. His religious indifference was then seen in a new light, and the conclusion drawn from it, that he could not be a very faithful minister, or much attached to the royal authority.—The year had not elapsed, before he was dismissed from the administration, and ever after appeared in opposition to the government.

Lord
Sunder-
land.

The whole government devolved to Lord Sunderland, at first only one of the joint secretaries of state. He, alone, of the ostensible ministers, was in the secret of the King's views, and prepared to second them. He did not represent any large party in the country, but to his measures we must resort, for a discovery of his master's sentiments, and those of the zealous cabal that surrounded him. The Catholics were loud and long in applauding him. It was very tardily they could be roused to any suspicion of his attachment to their interests. He had early in life discovered a disposition to embrace their faith as the

* Fox's App.

religion most agreeable to the court. This appears from CHAP. II. a dispatch of Monsieur Colbert, which announces his 1685. going to Spain as ambassador from the cabal ministry, in order to draw the Spanish cabinet into the confederacy against Holland. He was to take France in his way, and is recommended in the following terms:—"The Earl of Sunderland will, without fail, depart to-morrow to wait upon your Majesty. He is a young gentleman of high family; has a great deal of frankness, courage, parts, and learning; is also extremely well intentioned, and strongly disposed to become a Roman Catholic*."

It was long, however, before this disposition ripened into a determination. The prevalence of the Catholic religion at court was, for some time, uncertain. The cabal ministry were dismissed, and the enemies of the Catholics, all the popular enthusiasts of the day, became, for a time, the distributors of power and emoluments. Sunderland, without hesitation, turned to them, and warmly entered into their projects. One of their projects was, to disband a company of guards, consisting only of two hundred men, which the King had assembled round his person for his security. Lord Essex, who chiefly courted popularity among them, more particularly urged it. He addressed his sovereign on the subject in a style of remonstrance sufficiently vehement. There is a letter of Sunderland† to him, by which it appears he was his supporter on the occasion.

His complaisance for the patriots ceased with the duration of their power. He saw them go out of place with the variation of courtly politics, and remained behind relapsing into his former habits of courtly subservience. He now devoted himself, without reserve, to the French interest; expatiating, says the French ambassador, on the prodigious advantage which would accrue to France from his agency, by which she might hold England in dependence to her for ever. When bribes were to be offered to

* Dal. App.

† Ibid.

CHAP. II. the degraded Charles for this purpose, Sunderland was
1685. active in the negociation. It has been seen that he took
bribes from the French court on his own account, during
the agitation of the exclusion bill; but, after his usual
fashion, he did not confine himself to one mode of deceit,
or one scheme of duplicity. Two, if not more, parties
were to be deceived and juggled out of their money.
While, in obedience to the instructions of France, he
seemed to support the pretensions of the Duke of Rich-
mond, son of the Duchess of Portsmouth, as the person
to occupy the throne on the exclusion of James, he was
secretly gained over by the Prince of Orange, and probably
with as little sincerity was busy in forwarding his claim.
These were facts known to the French ambassador, and
communicated by him to his master. Lewis might, one
would have thought, have as safely concluded from them
as from the infidelity of Halifax, that Sunderland *could*
not be a very faithful minister, or much attached to the
support of the royal authority. Yet he continued to be
trusted by the French court, and was warmly recom-
mended by it to the favour of James after his accession.
A little before this event, he had been deeply concerned,
with the knowledge of France, in an intrigue personally
hostile to James. Nothing less was proposed than his
banishment from England, either on some embassy
abroad, or as lord deputy to Ireland.—This is the state-
ment of James himself, in his Memoirs, according to the
extracts which M'Pherson has given us. Mr. Fox is
inclined to attribute it to the bitterness of spirit which
James must have felt when he was composing his book;
but it receives confirmation from Burnet*, who assures us,
that the circumstance had transpired at the very time that
the plan was laid at the Duchess of Portsmouth's; that the
French ambassador assisted at the conferences in which it
was agitated; and that it was imparted to the Duke of
Monmouth on his arrival from abroad, being privately

* Hist. v. i. p. 334.

sent for by the caballers, to receive the communication. CHAP. II.
 There is rather an obscure and mysterious passage in a ———
 dispatch of Barillon of the 26th November, 1685*, by 1685.
 which it should seem he had not given up all intercourse
 with the Prince of Orange, even after James's accession;
 but carried on a clandestine correspondence, not, however,
 unknown to the ambassador, through Sydney, his wife's
 uncle.—It is remarkable, that throughout this whole reign
 Sydney was the almost avowed emissary of the disaffected
 with the Prince.

Any alarm which these "*liaisons qui pourroient éclater en d'autres temps*," carried on through so suspicious a channel, might have excited in Barillon's breast, was probably quieted and appeased by Sunderland's constant ostentation of French subserviency, and the substantial service of betraying his master's secrets to the ambassador†. Certain it is, during the whole of his tortuous march, the ambassador saw nothing, notwithstanding the occasional circumstances which stirred up suspicion in many observers, but unshaken attachment to the promotion of the Catholic religion, and the interests of France; and, in consequence of the representations of his conduct, made by the ambassador, Lewis ordered him a yearly pension of twenty-five thousand crowns, as well to reward him for the past, as to bind him for the future‡.

Nothing served so effectually to cover every fault, and soothe and lull every suspicion as an ostentatious zeal for the promotion of the Catholic religion. It never failed to recommend the person displaying it to one whose influence was unbounded over the mind of the King, and in reality The Queen.
 the mover of all his counsels, that is, the Queen.

Mr. Fox has adopted what appears to me a strange theory, respecting the events of this reign; a theory to which he is so wedded, that no other, he conceives, will

* I transcribe the original:—"Je sçais bien que Milord Sunderland peut par M. Sidney, conserver des liaisons avec le Prince d'Orange, qui pourroient éclater en d'autres temps, mais en attendant, &c."—Fox's App.

† 26th November, 1685. Fox's App.

‡ Ibid

CHAP. II. open to the English reader the important lessons with
 1685. which it is fraught. According to him, it was not *religion* which was the great object of James's counsels. His ruling passion was to render his government absolute. He was more bent on subduing the liberties of his subjects, than converting them to his particular mode of faith.

The first circumstance to be noticed in refutation of this opinion, is the influence of the Queen, which all the accounts of the time represent as the main spring of the government. This influence, it is reasonable to think, would be exerted under the immediate principles of religious zeal, and the promotion of the Catholic faith would be its great object. She knew little of parliaments or popular rights, but the exclusive merits of the religion she professed, her Italian education, and the whole system of society and opinions in her native country, must have deeply impressed upon her mind. A triumph over privileges which she must have contemplated as obscure and remote things, would have possessed few charms compared with a victory over the monster heresy. As long as she was only heiress to the throne, not having much power, she had attracted little notice; she had conciliated some popular favour by an appearance of retirement from the business of politics. But no sooner was she Queen, than her interposition in public affairs become marked and decided. To this interposition is, perhaps, to be ascribed the first public act of James after his accession, if this act was not dictated by his own overflowing zeal.

First public act of the King.

The late King had, some time before his death, secretly embraced the Catholic faith. When his end was approaching, his mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, to whom the important secret had been confided, sent for the French ambassador, and testifying the most eager anxiety for the salvation of the King's soul, according to her expression, desired him to go to James, that he might do what, in the judgment of these devout personages, was necessary on the occasion. James, upon receiving the message, recovering as from a profound stupor, exclaimed,

“ You are in the right; there is no time to be lost.—I will hazard all, rather than not do my duty.” Accordingly, a priest was introduced to the King in disguise.—The priest began by exacting from him a formal promise to make open profession of the Catholic faith, should he recover from his illness; after which he administered to him all the rites of his church. James would lose no time after his death, but had a regular attestation drawn up and published of his change of religion, with all the edifying sentiments he expressed in his dying moments. Finding in his strong box two papers in which the royal polemic had undertaken to handle some of the controverted points between the Catholics and Protestants, assigning the victory to the former, he hastened to communicate the important discovery to the world.

CHAP. II.

1685.

He went publicly to mass, and dispatched a special envoy with letters to the Pope. He gave sufficient indications that he was entirely under the dominion of religious zeal. How far this would have carried him may be a matter of doubt and controversy. Mr. Fox, who did not discern much eagerness or warmth in his zeal, expresses an opinion, with some hesitation however, that he aimed at no more than a complete toleration for the Catholics. The judgment of such a man on a part of history which he had so minutely investigated, is entitled to no small respect. We have an account of James's objects in the history of the Jesuit D'Orléans, said to have been written under his immediate dictation:—“ It would be doing wrong to the piety of which the King of England makes so edifying, and unequivocal a profession, to deny that he was desirous of bringing back his subjects to the religion of their forefathers, from which schism had separated them: but if they choose to examine his proceedings without prepossession, they will be convinced that this Prince never thought of drawing them into his belief by any other means than those of persuasion. They will see further, when they are willing to search the matter to the bottom, that though he was King, he always looked upon the English

CHAP. II. church as the governing religion; false, indeed, but still
 1685. established; and which a prudent monarch would particularly feel himself bound to treat with regard, as, among the sects which have inundated England, it is almost the only one which has preserved any attachment to Kings and to royalty. This is the reason assigned by this Prince in his council and parliament for promising to protect and maintain this same church. His conduct was answerable to his words.—The English church remained in possession of the bishoprics, cures, universities, even of the chapels she had at court; and what is more essential, though some scruple might be entertained upon the subject, according to the principles of the Roman church, he and his Queen received consecration from the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of the English church.

“ While James proceeded so strongly in favour of the religion of the kingdom, he thought he owed it to his conscience, to his reputation, to his dignity, to take some steps in favour of the religion of the *King*. He deemed it just that those of his own communion should be indebted to his reign for deliverance from the oppression under which they had so long laboured; for in sober reasoning upon the subject all he did in their favour had this solely for its object, and is reducible to two points;—allowing the Catholics the free exercise of their religion; and re-establishing them in the right of which they had so unjustly been deprived, of discharging the several functions of the public service, or, to speak more properly, re-establishing himself in the right of employing subjects who had proved themselves useful and faithful in all times, for such purposes, and in such situations as the good of the state might require*.”

This last point implies admission to all situations of trust and employment, military and civil, conferring, in reality, *power*. It may be doubted, whether toleration, in its strict sense, carries this along with it; but certainly if

* Hist. des Révolutions &c., par le Père d'Orléans.

James had always kept himself within even these extended limits, whatever might have been the sentiments of his contemporaries, yet the present generation, reviewing his conduct, might perhaps have been more generally inclined to applaud than condemn it. The opinion of Mr. Fox might, with some grains of allowance, have been admitted; but it is not in the nature of religious zeal to observe such limits. It was scarcely possible for a religion of the character of the Catholic, in the circumstances in which it was placed, should be satisfied with bare toleration. It was laid in the frame and constitution of the human mind that it should aspire at dominion. This transition was rapid and almost instantaneous in the mind of James. The views of his friend and ally, Lewis, are consigned in a letter which Mr. Fox has produced to the world. It is dated the very first month of the reign of the English monarch, March 16, 1685. It runs in these words:—"It is reasonable to think, the King of England, professing so publicly the Catholic faith as he does at present, will soon ask the Pope for bishops of his persuasion; and as, no doubt, his Holiness will choose them among the English clergy, I desire you will inform the King, that I have undoubted information many of them are infected with the doctrines of Jansenism. He will take care to distinguish, so that the example he sets his subjects may have all the desired effect; and his kingdom, recovering from one heresy, may not fall into another equally pernicious*." It is evident from the terms of this letter, that a change of the established religion of England was in his contemplation.—What else could he mean by the recovery of the *kingdom* from heresy?

Mr. Fox has proved to the satisfaction of every one who has any opinion of the character of Barillon, who does not regard his narratives as mere fables to cover speculation and theft, that James was from the beginning the abject, pensioned slave of France, and it will follow

CHAP. II.

1685.

* Fox's App.

CHAP. II. that the views of the French court would be his views.

1685.

Hume was mistaken in supposing he gradually fell into this union by his desire of promoting the Catholic religion. The dispatches of the ambassador demonstrate, that whatever had been otherwise his desires, he was content to sell himself to France. The union in question was coeval with his reign. The last breath had not escaped from his predecessor's lips, when calling the French ambassador, he assured him his master should always find in him a faithful and grateful servant. No sooner was he seated on the throne than all his ministers were employed one after another in importuning the ambassador for larger or smaller donations. The meanness of his importunities justly calls up in Mr. Fox's breast all the indignation of an Englishman, and raises the easy moderation of his style to an energy and poignancy suitable to the occasion. His solicitations were often met with coldness. The generosity of the granter was by no means equal to the avidity of the receiver. By all the arts of mendicity James does not appear during the whole of the first year of his reign, the period to which Mr. Fox's published collection of dispatches extends, to have extracted from the French treasury above two millions of French money; a trifling sum, utterly below the dignity of a King of England to receive, particularly one who was liberally treated by his parliament, and who had not the same excuse for his venality as his brother of venal memory.

Mr. Fox having established the fact, that James was a pensioner of the French monarch, immediately raises the inference, that absolute government was the object of his proceedings. The value of this reasoning has been already pretty copiously adverted to. It has been shewn that France no wise desired an absolute government in England, but, on the contrary, that her constant policy was to shackle and embarrass the King of England as much as possible by means of his parliament. This policy, which has been traced in the reign of Charles, may be further

traced in this reign, and it is Mr. Fox himself who sup-
plies us with the proof. While, according to his theory, CHAP. II.
France was intent on rendering the King absolute, his
Appendix exhibits the French ambassador busy at his
former practices,—gaining dependents in the House of
Commons,—and securing to his master the benefits of a
popular opposition against this very King. “I have
preserved (writes he) some connections with persons of
chief credit in former parliaments, and it would not be
impossible *to increase, should it be necessary, the divisions*
which seem arising. It cannot be useless to your Majesty’s
service to have constantly some of these people in dependence
*upon you *.*” 1685.

Mr. Fox’s facts abundantly prove, that whatever might
have been the inclinations of James, he was obliged to
serve the views of the French court, which paid him. To
ascertain what the views of this court were, we must go a
little out of the walks of public history, and consult the
accounts which have been transmitted to us, of what may
be regarded as the private life of the monarch.

Lewis was no longer what he had been,—a prince occu-
pied with plans of *political* ambition, eager to extend the
influence and power of his monarchy. He was at this
period involved in monkish devotion, completely subser-
vient to a pious cabal, in which the Jesuits chiefly pre-
sided. They had succeeded in turning all his views and
counsels to the extension of the Catholic faith, and the
extirpation of heresy, as the most certain means of atoning
for the transgressions of his youth, and securing the sal-
vation of his soul. This complexion of mind is sufficiently
manifest in the letter concerning the dangers of Jansenism,
which has been quoted. We cannot behold without ad-
miration a great sovereign descending to such frivolous
anxiety about dogmas which he could not have compre-
hended. The directing influence of the Jesuits is clearly
discernible in this production, and it is well known the

* November 26, 1685. Fox’s App.

CHAP. II. devout zeal which animated these good fathers disdained
 1685. all the restraints of worldly prudence and discretion. By their exhortations Lewis was, just at this juncture, meditating the famous revocation of the edict of Nantz. He who had resolved to sacrifice the commerce, the manufacturing industry, the various prosperity of *his own kingdom* at the shrine of a fanatical orthodoxy, may well be supposed to have been actuated by the same spirit when the concerns of a *foreign* state came under his contemplation. As we proceed fresh proofs of this will crowd in upon us.

So far for the argument arising from the power which the French monarch had purchased in the councils of England. It leads to conclusions directly the reverse of what Mr. Fox would labour to establish.

The inclinations of James himself are a different question. It is not attempted to be denied that he would gladly have rendered himself absolute. His notions of the kingly authority were in the highest degree exalted*. He had ever surveyed with extreme dislike and impatience all modes of parliamentary interposition or control. These sentiments, which had deeply sunk into his mind while he was only presumptive heir to the monarchy, he manifested without reserve as soon as he was King.

Customs
levied
contrary
to law.

The customs and other duties had been granted to the late King only for his own life; of course, by the established law and constitution of England, the right of levying them had expired. For this very reason, to shew how little he regarded this law and constitution, he determined to levy them by his own authority. It was not that he apprehended any inconvenience his treasury might sustain from an interruption in levying them, for it was suggested to him that he might either keep the money in

* —The very being of monarchy, which I thank God yet had no dependency on parliament, nor on nothing but God alone, nor ever can and be a monarchy. James to the Prince of Orange, dated July 6, 1679.—*Dal. App.*

the exchequer till a regular parliamentary grant was obtained, or take bonds from the merchants ; but he rejected both these expedients, as they might be thought to recognize an authority which he was resolved to shake off. He explained himself very clearly on this head to the French ambassador, telling him his intention was to carry a high hand over his parliament, and shew he did not wait for their approbation to collect his revenue. He issued a proclamation for levying the duties as usual.

CHAP. II.
1685.

It is then manifest that the King vehemently desired the establishment of an absolute government, and took an early opportunity to evince his disposition. That he was likewise zealous for the propagation of his religion, Mr. Fox must be understood to admit. Where is the difference, it may be asked, on which so much argument is lavished?—Is not this an idle dispute about words? I answer there is an *essential*, and *may* be an *important* difference between an object, which, if attained, would have satisfied the person desiring it, and one which, regarded as collateral, leaves, when possessed, the mind engaged in some ulterior pursuit. The question is analogous to that agitated by the poet respecting *the ruling passion*. Mr. Fox, whose logical understanding was the admiration of his time, would never have engaged with eagerness in a controversy merely *verbal* ; yet he omits no opportunity of inculcating his view of the subject, and expressly says it suggests to the reader *a lesson very different, and far more instructive*.

There can be no doubt, there were many Englishmen attached to the wise system of mingled liberty and authority, transmitted to them from their ancestors, who beheld the proceeding of the King, in levying the customs, with the most lively sorrow and apprehension ; but these emotions did not extend to the greater number. Addresses Addressed. poured in from all quarters, which shewed it had excited no resentment in the nation, and that every attempt on their *civil rights* would be easily, if not cheerfully, submitted to. The University of Oxford promised obedience

CHAP. II. without limitations or restriction. The society of barristers and students of the Middle Temple, referring to the
 1685. act of the King, declared it could be disputed by none but rebels. The gentlemen and freeholders of the county of Suffolk kept pace with these reverend and learned personages in their strain of servility. But, at the same time, the addresses denoted the most lively concern for the preservation of the *established religion*. This concern assumed different forms, but the sentiment was the same. The style of the most courtly was not to speak of their religion *as established by law*,—they would not question the fulness of the prerogative. But even these complaisant addressers made no secret of their extreme anxiety, saying, *they relied with entire security on the royal promise*. For fear, however, of any possible misconstruction, the clergy of London could not be prevailed upon to leave out the uncourtly phrase, and added “dearer to us than our lives;” and though this mode of address was little relished by the court, it was generally adopted in the kingdom. The King had, immediately after his accession, issued a proclamation for the meeting of the English parliament; but he directed a parliament which had been summoned in Scotland in the reign of his brother, to be first assembled, intending their proceedings, according to the expression in the royal letter, with which their sittings were opened, as an example to the other. The Scotch parliament was, in pursuance of his directions, opened on the 23rd of April at Edinburgh by the Duke of Queensberry, appointed King’s commissioner for the purpose. The proceedings of this assembly shew, if possible, in a still stronger manner than even the events in England, a disposition to submit entirely to the prerogative in every question merely *political*, but stedfastly to maintain the *religion* of the state. Nothing could exceed them in nauseous adulation and servility. They proclaimed, in the most emphatic terms which language could suggest, the King’s sacred, supreme, sovereign, absolute power, of which none, neither individuals nor assemblies, could

Parliament
in Scotland.
April.

participate but in dependence upon him, and by commis- CHAP. II.
sion from him*. They rendered him for ever independent
of his parliament, by annexing the whole revenue in per-
petuity to the crown. But while they did this, they con-
firmed all former statutes in favour of the Protestant
religion, and worded the confirmation with the most
anxious vigilance.

1685.

Some of the circumstances attending the transactions in Scotland, Mr. Fox appeals to with much confidence, as supporting his theory. James, argues he, persecuted the Presbyterians and sectaries with singular animosity. A test contrived for the protection of a *Protestant episcopal* church he enforced with extraordinary zeal. What is the inference? He was willing to co-operate with Protestants who seconded his design of rendering the monarchy absolute. The sectaries were the objects of his abhorrence, on account of their known attachment to the cause of *civil* liberty. No part of his conduct then is to be ascribed to Catholic zeal; he acted as any sovereign would have done who aspired to destroy the liberties of his people.

There is something true, and I apprehend a good deal false in this argument. James hated the sectaries no doubt, as, in his opinion, republicans; but he argued further that this republican tendency rendered them implacable against the Catholic, which has ever been esteemed a monarchical religion: whereas he speculated on the attachment of the episcopal party to royalty as gradually leading them to the Catholics. That this was the King's train of speculation appears by the documents furnished in Mr. Fox's Appendix:—"This Prince," says Barillon, speaking of James, "explained to me to the bottom his design with respect to the Catholics—his Majesty's plan is to gain his ends by means, and with the assistance of the episcopal, whom he looks upon as the royal, party;

* Hume.

CHAP. II. but he has no intention of shewing any favour to the non-
conformists and Presbyterians whom he regards as tho-
rough republicans;" February 26, 1685. Again, in a
subsequent letter—"The party of the bishops was con-
sidered, in the time of the late King, as the support of
royalty. The Presbyterians, and the other sectaries sup-
ported the Protestant religion, and zealously opposed the
progress of what is called Popery; but things are much
changed in England since the King makes open profession
of the Catholic religion;" May 21, 1685. James's specu-
lation proved unsuccessful, but such it was.—That his high
monarchical notions, and a secret love of absolute govern-
ment, blended themselves with all his plans, must be con-
ceded: but this will not prove Mr. Fox's proposition,
*that the first object of his reign was to render himself
independent of parliament and absolute, not to establish
Popery in England, which was considered as a more remote
contingency.* Another circumstance relied upon by Mr.
Fox is, that the commissioner appointed to open the
Scottish parliament, the Duke of Queensberry, while he
declared himself ready to go any lengths in support of the
royal authority, and persecuting the sectaries, expressed a
hope, that it should be understood there was no intention
of changing the established religion. The King, says Mr.
Fox, received this declaration most kindly. Let us take
it for granted that this kindness continued, and see
whether it will bear out the inference, that his views
were entirely or principally fixed on the establishment of
an absolute government, and not in a far higher degree
on the promotion of his religion. If the reader attends
to the King's schemes as explained by Barillon, he will
observe, that, according to the principle on which it
rested, every accession to the cause of monarchy was
eagerly sought for as so much gained for the Catholics.
The Duke's *political* subserviency might be therefore
chiefly acceptable on account of the religious projects to
which it was intended to be made subservient. Mr. Fox's

argument is wholly inconclusive, even on the confined CHAP. II.
 view of facts, to which his unfinished history extends : —————
 but one observation is important, and there is no better 1685.
 place for introducing it than this ; that, as far as he has
 gone, he establishes principles which convert subsequent
 facts into direct conclusions against himself.

The parliament of England, which had been summoned Parliament
 immediately on the accession of the King, met on the 19th in England.
 of May. May. Mr. Fox has noticed the circumstance, that it
 was not convened without a formal apology offered to the
 French ambassador ; and the reason given for this seem-
 ing deference to his subjects, so contrary to the King's
 principles, was, in explicit terms, that France might not
 be burthened with his entire support.

The parliament had, according to the King's intentions,
 been tutored by the example of that which sat in Scotland,
 and it strictly followed its footsteps. It exhibited the
 same abject compliance with the royal will in every point
 except religion, and on this was equally or rather more
 untractable. Burnet tells us, that various corrupt and
 illegal practices were made use of, to procure the return
 of the members of the House of Commons. It might
 have been so ; yet Mr. Fox acknowledges, the House was
 no unfaithful index of the popular sentiments. It was
 prepared for unconditional *political* slavery ; but so were
 the multitude, so was the people. That the King expected
 much from it may be presumed by his declaring, there
 were not forty members in it whom he would not have
 named.

In his opening speech, he thought proper to renew his King's
 assurances in favour of the established church : — “ What opening
speech. I said to my privy council, at my first coming there, I am
 desirous to renew to you ; where I fully declare my
 opinion concerning the principles of the church of Eng-
 land, whose members have shewed themselves so eminently
 loyal in the worst of times, in defence of my father, and
 support of my brother (of blessed memory) that I will
 always take care to defend and support it.” These

CHAP. II. renewed assurances, it should seem*, gave considerable
1685. offence to the French court. Such was the religious fervour which possessed them that nothing short of an immediate declaration in favour of the Catholics could satisfy them. All considerations were absorbed in this. They were not a knot of politicians thinking of power and aggrandizement, but impelled by the headlong passions of unmixed fanaticism ;—they were impatient of the least delay, and disregarded the suggestions of policy, and what they termed worldly prudence.

The other parts of James's speech breathed all the loftiness and arrogance of prerogative. Instead of apologizing for his illegal assumption of the revenue, he threatened, that if parliament was not extremely liberal in its supplies, he would raise a revenue without waiting for its sanction or approbation. "There is one popular argument, which I foresee may be used against what I ask of you, from the inclination men have for frequent parliaments ; which some may think would be the best security, by feeding me from time to time by such proportions as they shall think convenient : and this argument, (it being the first time I speak to you from the throne) I will answer once for all, that this would be a very improper method to take with me ; and that the best way to engage me to meet you often is always to use me well." This threat, and the high monarchical tone of the speech were received with applause rather than with disapprobation. The Commons gave thanks for the King's speech, and voted to him, for the term of his life, the whole revenue enjoyed by his predecessor. Not a murmur was heard on the assumption of it before it had been granted by parliament. Every act, and every discourse denoted an entire surrender of civil liberty ; but not of the interests of the established church.

The committee of religion went so far as to vote

* See two letters from a French minister in the Appendix to Welwood's Memoirs.

unanimously "that it is the opinion of the committee CHAP. II.
 that this House will stand by his Majesty with their lives
 and fortunes, according to their bounden duty and allegi- Vote of the
Committee
of Religion.
 ance, in defence of the reformed church of England, as it
 is now by law established; and that an humble address be
 presented to his Majesty to desire him to issue forth his
 royal proclamation, to cause the penal laws to be put in
 execution against all dissenters from the church of Eng-
 land whatsoever."

This vote, which evidently comprehended the Catholics, and was probably intended particularly to do so, excited no small resentment in the whole cabal at court, of whom the Queen was the centre. The court members of the House were ordered to get rid of it. In pursuance of these orders the question of agreeing with the committee was evaded by the previous question; but all the influence of the court could prevail only to change the phraseology of the original vote, and ward off the immediate threat against the Catholics. The spirit was in a great degree preserved in the following, which was substituted:—"Resolved, that this House doth acquiesce and entirely rely, and rest wholly satisfied on his Majesty's gracious word, and repeated declaration, to support and defend the religion of the church of England, as it is now by law established, *which is dearer to us than our lives.*"

The reason assigned by Echard and Kennet for this altered resolution is, I think, very satisfactorily refuted by Mr. Fox, and the alteration traced to its true cause. The circumstance of the original vote's including in its fulminatory provision the Protestant dissenters no less than the Catholics, so far from rendering it less palatable to the prevailing party in parliament and nation, would only recommend it the more. The alarm about religion had not yet got such footing among them as to supersede their political animosities. They were by no means prepared for a fraternal union with the Protestant dissenters. They hated them as enemies of the prerogative, and, in their opinion, of monarchy itself.

CHAP. II. Two other memorable instances occurred in the course
1685. of this short session, to shew through all the political servility of the parliament, their stedfast adherence to their religious creed. On the news of the invasion of the Duke of Monmouth, a bill was proposed, and carried through the House of Commons, in which all the principles of criminal jurisprudence were subverted, in the anxiety of the members to evince their devotedness to the court. It was enacted, that any written or verbal declaration of a treasonable intention should be tantamount to a treasonable act—further, to assert the legitimacy of Monmouth's birth, or to propose in parliament any alteration in the succession of the crown, was made treason. The bill was combated by Serjeant Maynard, on sound, legal, and constitutional grounds; but his arguments had no effect. He was regarded as a Whig, and scarcely listened to.—The bill rode triumphantly through the House; but, in its progress, an addition was made to it, suggested by the prevailing jealousy. As the bill did not relate to treasons only, but imposed new penalties upon such as should by writing, printing, preaching, or other speaking, attempt to bring the King or his Government into hatred or contempt; the Protestant, or national party, apprehended danger in the comprehensive wording of this clause; and viewed with alarm the use which might be made of it. They accordingly introduced a special proviso, “that the asserting and maintaining, by any writing, printing, preaching, or any other speaking the doctrine, discipline, divine worship, or government of the Church of England, as it is now by law established, against *Popery*, or any other different or dissenting opinions, is not intended, and shall not be interpreted or construed to be any offence within the words or meaning of this act.”

Before this parliament met, the relation of the Popish Plot, which had been so greedily believed, not merely by the populace and lower orders, but by the nation at large, and the two houses of parliament themselves, had received such a shock, as, it might reasonably have been expected,

would have opened the eyes of the most credulous. CHAP. II.
 Oates, the principal witness, on whose testimony the
 whole matter, in a great measure, rested, had been tried for
 perjury, and convicted on the fullest evidence. This
 encouraged the friends of the court in the House of Lords
 to attempt a revisal of the proceedings to which the sup-
 posed reality of the plot, had given rise. A bill was
 brought in to reverse Lord Stafford's attainder. The
 argument was irresistible. The man, on whose evidence
 he had been condemned, was a convicted perjurer, whom
 no one could be hardy enough to defend; yet the bill got
 with difficulty through the Lords, and after one reading
 was dropped by the Commons.

1685.

Stafford's
 attainder
 not re-
 versed.

Hume seems almost to *justify* this denial of justice; observing, that however innocent Stafford might be, this was no time to concede what might be deemed a justification of the Catholics. Mr. Fox has commented upon this piece of reasoning with his usual sagacity and sense of rectitude. The Commons were probably not guided by such *refined* and subtle principles as Hume's metaphysical train has produced.—They were impelled by the general unreflecting sentiment of the hatred of Popery, and an unwillingness to carry back a strict examination into circumstances which had so inflamed the popular passion against it.

The session closed on the second of July, in consequence
 of the invasion of the Duke of Monmouth, though that
 rash enterprise was already on the eve of its final discom-
 fiture, the defeat of the Duke happening three days after.
 Argyle, who, in concert with Monmouth, had made an
 attempt upon Scotland, was already subdued, and had
 perished on the scaffold. James, it should seem, felt
 himself encouraged by the submission of the parliament,
 which, with the slender interruption of an inconsiderable
 rebellion, extended to the whole nation, to what might be
 deemed a disclosure of his real views and designs. He
 was well aware of the extreme anxiety, the feverish sen-
 sibility of his subjects on the head of their religion.—He

Close of
 the session,
 1685.

CHAP. II. had thought it necessary to introduce in his opening
1685. speech, expressions for the purpose of appeasing and
quieting their alarms. Short as the session had been, repeated votes and declarations of his parliament had reminded him how quick the sensibility, and how apt to revive, those alarms were; yet, in dismissing the two houses, he rigidly abstained from what might be construed into a fresh assurance. Rapin, Ralph, and Hume, are all three struck by this silence, and concur in regarding it as indicative of what was passing in the King's mind; but Mr. Fox, blinded, I take the liberty of saying, by his darling theory, sees nothing extraordinary in it, and will not allow it to suggest any conclusion as to the King's intentions.—Immediately before the King's speech was delivered, the Speaker of the House of Commons, in presenting to him some money bills which had been passed, took the opportunity to bring once more before him a subject on which the sense of parliament had been already so often expressed. He addressed the King in these words:—"The Commons of England have here presented your Majesty with the bills of tonnage and poundage, with all readiness and chearfulness; and that without any security for their religion, though it be dearer to them than their lives, relying wholly on your royal word for the security of it, and humbly beseech your Majesty to accept this their offer." The King, argues Mr. Fox, had come down, according to custom, with a prepared speech. He could not be expected to introduce an extempore paragraph in answer to the address of the Speaker. But why, it may be asked in reply, the studious omission of the subject of religion in the prepared speech? Had it not occupied a distinguished place in former speeches? Had the nation or parliament become suddenly indifferent about it? Did he think that the members in dispersing through their several counties at a time of great popular ferment, less required to be satisfied than when meeting in parliament in the capital? James, continues Mr. Fox, would not certainly have scrupled to repeat the assurances which he had

so lately made in favour of the Protestant religion, as he CHAP. II.
did not scruple to talk of his true English heart, honour of
the nation, &c. But surely the cases were very different. 1685.
Religion had assumed so austere a character in the temper
of James's mind, that he may be thought to have felt some
share of orthodox compunction for the assurances which
worldly prudence had extorted from him, and which he
was firmly resolved not to repeat. His brother fanatics
at the French court would perhaps have strengthened his
remorse and his resolution by taxing the dissimulation he
had practised as criminal hypocrisy, and a betraying of the
truth. The general expressions referred to did not bind
him to any specific measures, or indeed to any particular
course of policy. His pecuniary subserviency was not
known, and he might promise himself never would; but
when he had resolved on measures which his subjects
would deem inconsistent with the preservation of their
religion, he could not again promise to support and defend
it. His designs were hastening to a formal disclosure,
and he would not make use of expressions which events
were on the eve of contradicting.

The part of his speech which has been adverted to in
reporting the argument of Mr. Fox, was in these words:
"I cannot express my concern upon this occasion, more
suitable to my own thoughts of it, than by assuring you I
have a true English heart, as jealous of the honour of the
nation as you can be; and I please myself with the hopes,
that by God's blessing and your assistance, I may carry
the reputation of it yet higher in the world, than ever it
has been in the time of any of my ancestors." The par-
tizans and admirers of James always celebrated him as a
sovereign possessed with these high notions of the honour
of his country. Whatever errors there were, said they, in
his domestic administration, though his religious principles
set him at variance with his subjects, and engaged him in
counsels which encountered their disapprobation, yet in
his intercourse with foreign states, he would ever have
maintained the pride and firmness of a king of England.

CHAP. II. His enemies seemed to avoid this topic, and almost confessed the justice of the praise bestowed upon him. But
 1685. we are enabled to estimate how well he deserved it, by knowing that this *man with the true English heart, who was resolved to carry the reputation of his country higher than any of his ancestors*, was at this very time in the pay of the French King, and obliged to regulate his conduct in subserviency to French interests and French passions.

Attempts
of Argyle
and Mon-
mouth.

The two several attempts of the Earl of Argyle in Scotland, and the Duke of Monmouth in England, though distinct in place, and somewhat varying in point of time, were, however, branches of the same enterprise, and both attended with circumstances which afforded little prospect of success to either. Mr. Fox decidedly justifies both these invaders of their country, on the score of morality, though, he intimates, prudential reasons should have dissuaded them. I cannot but observe of this great man, whose memory I respect, that he appears to me to have been upon all occasions far too liberal in allowing justifiable cases of resistance by arms to established government. Had he been guided entirely by his own superior understanding and excellent disposition, I believe he would have been more cautious; but too much of his life was devoted to that great corrupter of the human mind, popularity; and he had contracted a habit of uttering bold sounding propositions that would please the multitude, without sufficiently attending to the consequences. There can be no doubt on this question. The general rule is—submission. The peace and good order of human society require that this should be the rule, and that the few exceptions should be very scrupulously weighed, and cautiously admitted.—Every exception must stand on its own distinct grounds, and justify *itself*. In discourse and argument, nothing should be laid down but the rule, which is indisputably as has been stated.

With respect to the particular case which has given rise to these general observations, if the favourite doctrine of our visionaries and reformers be admitted, that *numbers* are to

decide—a doctrine, by the way, to which Mr. Fox does not seem, under the dominion of his idol, popularity, to have had any very great objection—the enterprise of Argyle and Monmouth was as *unjustifiable* as it was *imprudent*. The far larger number in the nation were not only disposed to submission, but, in the main, heartily approved of the King's government. He had not yet made any attack upon the church, and his high notions of prerogative almost entirely accorded with theirs.

Monmouth's invasion was deficient in a circumstance which could alone conciliate to it any part of the popular feeling. Mr. Fox has remarked, that the habits and prejudices of the English people are, in a great degree, aristocratical. He might have remarked further, that in all contests for the crown, they have been extremely attached to hereditary right. This feeling in favour of *hereditary* right was particularly strong at this period, and in no case, in no circumstances, would the multitude have been induced to shake off entirely this attachment. Now, Monmouth was wholly destitute of those pretensions which could alone soothe and humour the popular feeling. He had not even what the ingenuity of party passion might have held out to deceive it into acquiescence. The legitimacy of his birth he did not maintain himself;—he did not mention it in the very censurable manifesto* which he sent forth to the world at his landing;—a manifesto, which Mr. Fox, in recording these transactions, passes over with a mildness not quite consistent with the severity of historical justice. When he afterwards declared himself King, he did not so much as *affect* to found his title on any ground agreeing with the doctrine of hereditary succession, but left the whole matter in that

CHAP. II.
1685.

Mon-
mouth's
manifesto.

* The Duke of Monmouth's manifesto was long, and ill penned; full of much black and dull malice. It was plainly Ferguson's style, which was both tedious and fulsome. It charged the King with the burning of London, the Popish Plot, Godfrey's murder, and the Earl of Essex's death; and, to crown all, it was pretended, that the late King was poisoned by his orders.—*Bur. Hist.* v. i. p. 354.

CHAP. II. vague, indistinct way which might be construed into election by his republican followers. No wonder then, that he met with little favour from the bulk of the nation, who were in the highest degree monarchical, who hated whatever bore the least semblance to republican opinions. He

1685.

Completely
defeated,
July.

was completely defeated at the battle of Sedgemore, the 5th of July. He escaped from the field of battle, and was discovered, and taken prisoner two days after. He wrote a letter to the King, soliciting a personal interview with him; and, in order to induce him to grant his request, intimated, he had an important secret to communicate. Not a little curiosity has been excited among writers, what this important secret was. For my part I am satisfied with Mr. Fox's explanation, that there was no secret at all, and that this part of the letter was merely a stratagem dictated by the anxiety of the Duke to obtain the interview: a pretty general belief, however, refers it to a treacherous correspondence carried on by Sunderland; and that this was the opinion, at least afterwards entertained by James himself, appears by his Memoirs.—He adds a story, that Monmouth made the discovery to Ralph Sheldon, who was sent to meet him on his journey to London.

The character and conduct of Sunderland, from his first entrance into public life to the close of his career, will lend a colour to any representation of his duplicity and treacherous policy. No man was ever more fond of entangling himself in crooked and sinister intrigues.—He seems almost to have loved treachery for the sake of treachery itself. Yet we cannot easily believe he would have connected himself with an enterprise, which, from the beginning, was bereft of the least probability, almost possibility of success, to the imminent hazard of his life. A suspicion of Mr. Fox, relative to another passage in these royal Memoirs, and which has been already noticed, may be applicable to the story of Ralph Sheldon.

Admitted
to an inter-
view with
the King.

The unfortunate Duke was admitted to the desired interview; but the mercy he implored sternly refused. Barillon gives a lamentable description of the illustrious

prisoner, as he saw him conducted, his arms tied behind him, through the apartments of the palace. James, in the book so often referred to, which he composed when his own misfortunes had somewhat softened his heart, acknowledges he ought not to have consented to see him, unless he had been disposed to pardon. Indeed, to survey the favourite son of a brother whom he had always professed to love, in such a state of misery and humiliation, and repulse him from his knees petitioning for life, shewed in the strongest colours the gloomy severity of his disposition, and must have inspired his subjects with woeful presages of what they were to receive from the season of his prosperity.—They were not long kept in suspense.

After the battle of Sedgemore, the victorious soldiers were indulged in all the wantonness of cruelty. Fever-sham, the general, proceeded to military execution without any regard to law or form of trial.—He hanged up five prisoners on the first sign-post he met with.—Above twenty more suffered in the same summary manner, and probably many others would have shared their fate, had it not been for the firm expostulations of the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Kirk, a soldier of fortune, who had received early lessons of cruelty from the Moors, among whom he had long served at Tangier, outdid the example of the general.—Upon his entry into Bridgewater he hanged up nineteen persons. Some of the instances recorded of this man's barbarity look like the revived fables of other times, but they serve to shew the deep impression he left in all the western counties. His regiment was foremost in every outrage, and he, by way of pleasantry, called them his *lambs*; a name long remembered in that part of England. James is, perhaps, not strictly chargeable with these excesses; but he evinced no disposition to control or punish the perpetrators. Immediately after the executions of the soldiers, came Jefferies at the head of a special commission.

Jefferies had been appointed chief justice of the King's Bench at the end of the last reign, and had been very

CHAP. II.

1685.

Cruelties of
the King's
govern-
ment-

Kirk.

Jefferies.

CHAP. II. useful to the court in browbeating juries, and hurrying
 1685. on the condemnation of the persons tried for the Rye House Plot. Though, in the highest degree arrogant and imperious, when in a situation not to be opposed, he meanly shrunk from the resistance of his equals. He was a compound of impudence, brutality, pusillanimity, and low buffoonery. The commission was opened at Winchester about the end of August. It successively visited Dorchester, Exeter, Taunton, and Wells. It is computed five hundred persons were found guilty, one-half of whom were executed. It is said a circumstance took place, of which, I believe, there is no other example in the history of English judges: The mercenary, as well as inhuman Jefferies was allowed to traffic with justice, and received commutation fees from some of the prisoners under sentence of death. Among the events of this tragedy, the two instances which struck the greatest horror were the execution of Mrs. Gaunt and Lady Lisle. The former was burnt alive on the evidence of a wretch, whom, from motives of humanity, she had harboured after Monmouth's defeat, and who had been induced, by the prospect of pardon and reward, to betray his benefactress. The second, bowed down with age and infirmities, was twice acquitted by the jury.—Twice was the jury sent back with menaces by the brutal chief justice, till a verdict of guilty was extorted.

Applications were made to the King for mercy, but his answer was, that he had promised Jefferies not to pardon her, and she was executed.—Yet James, in his Memoirs, would free himself from the imputation of these cruelties, which he charges all on Jefferies. He particularly mentions Lady Lisle, and gives his opinion, though not in a very decided manner*, that she ought not to have suffered.

* — Particularly an old gentlewoman, one Mrs. Alice Lisle, who was condemned and executed only for harbouring one Hick and Nelstrop, both ill men enough indeed, and the latter in a proclamation; but, as she pretended, was ignorant of it; and therefore, perhaps, might suffer for a common act of hospitality.—*M^r Pherson*.

He says, he joined four other judges in the commission CHAP. II.
 with Jefferies, and sent Pollexfen in quality of King's
 solicitor, in hopes, that from his known partiality to the 1685.
 Presbyterians, he would moderate the chief justice's heat.
 Whatever were his hopes or his wishes, certain it is, the
 heat of the chief justice was not moderated. His cruelties
 were not punished—not even an indication given, that
 they had been displeasing; on the contrary, at his return
 from his bloody circuit, he received a peerage, and was
 soon after created chancellor. The King would, with a
 barbarous jocularitv, call his murderous progress, Jefferies'
 campaign; and so pleased was he with the expression, that he
 introduced it in two several letters to the Prince of Orange,
 both written in the month of September of this year*.
 The conclusion of the last excites a strong prepossession
 against his general humanity:—"As for news, there is
 little stirring, but that the lord chief justice has almost
 done his campaign; he has already condemned several
 hundreds, some of which are already executed, more are
 to be, and the others sent to the plantations; which is all
 I have now time to tell you." Yet would he persuade us
 that his own disposition was mild and lenient, and his chief
 justice alone cruel; and, in order to beget such an opinion,
 he relates a story which will not easily find credit with an
 English reader.

One Major Holmes was found guilty in the west. Story in
James's
Memoirs.
 He was brought up prisoner to London, for what par-
 ticular reason is not explained. It seems he had lost a
 son and an arm in the battle. "The King," says James,
 "who loved courage even in an enemy, could not refrain
 from countenancing him." Pleased with his demeanour,
 he granted him his pardon. This very man was oddly
 chosen to carry a message to Jefferies, concerning such
 prisoners as were to be spared. Jefferies, as soon as he
 got him into his power, in defiance of the royal pardon,
 hanged him up with the rest†. It is hard to impeach the

* Dal. App.

† M'Pherson's Papers.

CHAP. II. veracity of a gentleman and a prince, yet certainly this story is framed with many circumstances of improbability.

1685.

Why was Holmes brought up to London?—Why sent back again? Who will believe any judge, in a country like England, would venture to send a man to execution who had been so distinguished by his sovereign, and brought with him the royal pardon? If the presumption of the chief justice extended so far, it was an indisputable murder, and he ought to have been brought to the scaffold on his return, instead of receiving honours and rewards.

It is said the whole country in the west of England was strewn with the heads and limbs of the rebels, and there was scarce a village which did not exhibit the carcase of some sufferer. However shocking these proceedings to a peaceable and humane people, long unused to the horrors of civil war and its murderous train of evils, yet so prevalent was the attachment to the throne and the monarch, that the sentiments which they were calculated to excite, would not have spread very wide, or penetrated very deep, had the king stopped there. The sufferings, however aggravated, of persons convicted of treason and rebellion, would not have excited very strong or general sympathy, if the important subject of religion had not intervened. Religion was the point on which every feeling was alive; and the attachment of the people to *their* church could be surpassed only by the bigotted zeal of the King in favour of *his*. Zeal acting upon a frame of mind like that of James would be extremely impatient of dissimulation and restraint, and the prosperity which had poured in upon him seemed to invite him to give it vent.

There was no opposition to obstruct or embarrass him: his enemies lay prostrate at his feet. There was scarcely any thing he could attempt in the way of *civil* authority, which would not command the prompt submission of his subjects, which would not be received with approbation and applause by the far greater number. Had he not

directed his measures to the subject of religion, he was an absolute prince for life,—the liberties of England were gone for ever.

CHAP. II.

1685.

The purpose for which we shall see James henceforward labouring with undisguised eagerness, may be generally described, the propagation or promotion of his own religion. Mr. Fox's mild and indulgent supposition as to the extent to which he would have carried his plan of promotion, has been noticed. The professions of James himself, if the history of the Jesuit d'Orléans be allowed to contain them, have been recited. Sir John Reresby* informs us of his usual language and conversation at this time on the subject of his religious projects. He was preparing for the meeting of his parliament, which was to take place in November. He applied himself to gain over the individual members, by holding personal conferences with them, which were denominated *closetings*. In these he talked of nothing but *general* liberty of conscience, expatiating on the subject with that crowd of topics which we have been used to hear from the most indulgent friends to religious liberty. He insisted that the unlimited freedom he proposed to establish would operate as an invitation to foreigners of all sects and denominations to come and settle in his dominions, and his imagination kindled at the golden prospects of increased trade and manufactures which were to ensue from them.

While he was uttering this language, and endeavouring to cajole his subjects by topics so little agreeing with the character of a *bigot*, the proceedings of his friend and ally, the King of France elicited sentiments of a very different complexion, and very different sincerity. Impelled by the barbarous zeal which his devout advisers were constantly inflaming, the King of France signed at this time the revocation of the edict of Nantz.

This edict, which owed its birth to a sovereign whose

Revocation
of the edict
of Nantz.

* Memoirs, p. 242.

CHAP. II. name was singularly dear to all Frenchmen, Henry IV. — had done little more for the Protestants of France than
1685. what, according to James's professions, he was anxious to do for all the sectaries in his dominions. It conferred on them *liberty of conscience*, the constant theme of his declamations, and what he represented himself as wishing to render universal. The liberty of conscience which the French Protestants enjoyed under the edict, had encouraged them to industry, and raised many of them to opulence. The fruits it had produced were those very improvements in trade and manufactures which James *said* he looked forward to, from his projects. Those fruits were entirely blasted by the revocation; fifty thousand Protestant families emigrated from the kingdom. On this occasion was manifested in a most striking and exemplary manner the impotency of despotism to arrest the natural course of things. A line of soldiers was drawn round the frontiers.—Those who were apprehended in the attempt to escape were condemned to the galleys, or the most rigorous imprisonment. Every precaution was adopted to effect what appeared more easy to accomplish, to stop the exportation of the property belonging to the fugitives. All to no purpose. The transfer of the property took place; London received a great accession of wealth as well as population:—a sum of sixty thousand guineas is said to have been coined from the gold brought by the emigrant French. But they brought much more than that; they brought their skill, their ingenuity, their manufacturing industry, those arts which had constituted the prosperity of their native country. Such were the effects of the *revocation* on those objects which James was so desirous to promote. Itself an act destructive of *liberty of conscience*, considered in the most limited sense, it had been preceded by measures, bearing if possible still more decidedly that character. A system of unequivocal persecution had for some years been going forward against the Protestants. By various edicts their children were torn from them. Though confessedly at the head of the

mercantile interest in France, they were excluded from all commercial guilds and fraternities. On occasion of some popular commotions excited by these repeated injuries and vexations, many of them had suffered death in torments. The revocation of the edict of Nantz was esteemed by its authors the finishing stroke of a system of persecution on which they openly congratulated themselves; yet the *tolerant, the liberal* James was unbounded in his expressions of joy to the French ambassador, when the intelligence was communicated to him*. It is remarkable that Hume appears to doubt of the sentiments with which the English monarch surveyed the proceedings in France. He says, he affected to throw the highest blame on the persecutions carried on in that kingdom. He afforded, adds he, the most real protection to the distressed Hugonots. Yet the historian was aware of Sir John Dalrymple's Appendix, which he more than once quotes; and the passage referred to in it, extracted from Barillon's dispatches would, it might be thought, have removed all scepticism from his mind, and revealed the confirmed bigotry of James.

The sentiments characteristic of a persecuting bigot, which had flowed out from the abundance of the heart to the French ambassador, were not, however, intended for the public. James, in the measures he attempted at this time, cannot be accused of going further than what was justified by the notions he professed to entertain of *liberty of conscience*. No sooner was Monmouth's rebellion suppressed, than he publicly discovered an intention, which at no period of his life he ever denied, which formed part of his avowed system,—that of throwing open all employments to his Catholic subjects. He began with the army; he invested many professed Catholics with commissions; nor did he dissemble that he was acting in prosecution of a principle which must embrace the civil service:—less was sufficient to excite the alarm of the church-party,

* Dispatches, August 18, and October 4, 1685.

CHAP. II. which was, in effect, the nation. They considered this principle as an infraction of his promise to preserve the established religion. The character of the church-party has, I think, been very correctly delineated by Mr. Fox. Their unlimited submission, their *passive obedience* in civil matters, did not prevent them from being extremely humoursome and refractory where the ecclesiastical policy of the state was concerned. Touched on this point, they exerted no equivocal spirit of resistance. *In church matters they neither acknowledged any very high authority in the crown, nor were they willing to submit to any royal encroachment on that side.* They were animated with the most vehement hatred of all *dissenters* from their church, whether Catholic or Protestant; nor did they deem this church secured, unless all tests and statutes of pains and penalties were most rigorously maintained. A spirit of persecution blended itself so intimately with their attachment to their religion as to constitute one passion. However they might be disposed to support the King on other subjects, on this the most zealous Whig could not be more inflexible or determined not to relax from the severity of the law.

Parliament.

This the King sufficiently experienced at the meeting of the parliament, which took place on the 9th of November. He had carried matters since his accession with too high a hand, and had received too many assurances of unconditional obedience, to think of dissimulation at this period, when he was so much elevated by prosperity, and might expect to see every thing bend implicitly to his will. He informed parliament of what he had done respecting the commissions in the army, and did not forget to give them due notice he was not disposed to recede. His words were "Let no man take exception that there are some officers in the army not qualified according to the late tests, for their employments. The gentlemen, I must tell you, are most of them well known to me: and having formerly served with me on several occasions, and always approved the loyalty of their prin-

ciples by their practice, I think them now fit to be employed under me; and I will deal plainly with you, that after having had the benefit of their service in such a time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to disgrace, nor myself to the want of them, if there should be another rebellion to make them necessary to me.”

CHAP. II.

1685.

The sentiment of discontent which this declaration produced, was for some time stifled by an impression of terror, and that habitual reverence for the royal authority which men had for some years so zealously cultivated and cherished. However deep and vehement their resentment, at what they considered an attack upon their religion and church, they were slow in manifesting it. It did not become them, who had applauded the King's illegal assumption of the revenue, who had on every occasion exalted the prerogative above the law and constitution, to break out openly into resistance. This they felt, and no small perplexity prevailed in both houses. A sullen silence succeeded the King's speech. The ministers proposed, as usual, a motion of thanks. This was carried in the lords without opposition, only Lord Devonshire hazarding a sarcastic remark, “that thanks were clearly due to his Majesty for discovering his intentions so plainly.” Compton, however, Bishop of London moved, some days after, that a day should be appointed to consider the King's speech; and, notwithstanding the arrogant animadversions of Jefferies, whose insolence was in the course of the debate checked and humbled, his motion prevailed. The commons were not so tractable.—The motion for thanks was effectually resisted.—A vote of adjournment for three days was substituted for it. At the end of the three days, ministers pressing for a supply, the supply was indeed granted, but a clause negatived, which appropriated it to the support of the forces on foot. This last decision must not be mistaken as proceeding from the general principle of civil liberty, a jealousy of a standing army, but flowed entirely from a dislike of the composition of those forces, into which it has been seen,

CHAP. II. a number of Catholics had been admitted. The next day
 1685. it was proposed that the house should go on with the supply. It was moved, on the contrary, that, they should proceed to the consideration of the paragraph in the speech which related to the power of dispensing with the tests — On a division there were one hundred and eighty-two for the original proposition, and one hundred and eighty-three for the amendment. This, therefore, prevailed by a majority of one. The following address was then agreed to:—

“ *Most Gracious Sovereign,*

“ We your Majesty’s most loyal and faithful subjects, the commons in parliament assembled, do, in the first place (as in duty bound) return your Majesty our most humble and hearty thanks for your great care and conduct in suppressing the late rebellion, which threatened the overthrow of this government, both in church and state, and the utter extirpation of our *religion, as by law established, which is most dear unto us* ; and which your Majesty hath been pleased to give us repeated assurances you will always defend and support ; which with all grateful hearts we shall ever acknowledge.

“ We farther crave leave to acquaint your Majesty, that we have, with all duty and readiness, taken into our consideration your Majesty’s gracious speech to us : and as to that part of it relating to the officers in the army, not qualified for their employments, according to an act of parliament made in the 25th year of the reign of your Majesty’s royal brother, entitled *an act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants* ; we do, out of our bounden duty, humbly represent unto your Majesty, that those officers cannot by law be capable of their employments, and that the incapacities they bring upon themselves thereby, can no way be taken off but by an act of parliament.

“ Therefore, out of that great deference and duty we owe unto your Majesty, who have been graciously pleased

to take notice of their services to you, we are preparing a bill to pass both houses for your royal assent, to indemnify them from the penalties they have now incurred; and because the continuing of them in their employments may be taken to be a dispensing with that law without act of parliament, (the consequence of which is of the greatest concern to the rights of all your Majesty's subjects, and to all the laws made for the security of their religion,) we, therefore, the knights, citizens, and burgesses, of your Majesty's House of Commons, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would be graciously pleased to give such directions therein, that no apprehensions or jealousies may remain in the hearts of your Majesty's good and faithful subjects."

1685.

Nothing could be more respectful and submissive than the whole tenor of this address, yet one feature cannot fail of striking the reader. Though evidently penned by the party which prevailed in the house, the Tories and High Churchmen, it discovers some faint traces of the opinions which were supposed to belong exclusively to their adversaries. Thrown into opposition to the court by their anxiety for their church, they caught unconsciously some portion of the spirit which animated the objects of their hatred, the Whigs. In defence of their church they appeal to general principles of law and liberty, which applied themselves to a number of other questions. They feel themselves compelled to stand on the supremacy of parliament, and to urge the illegality of all acts which parliament did not sanction. Thus were they led by degrees to a coalition with the Whigs. This spirit of approximation continued to unfold itself in their further proceedings, and is more and more discernible in the papers which they at different times published.

Principles so different from what he had been accustomed to from that party, struck the King with the greatest surprise.—Surprise gave way to anger; and when the address was carried up, he answered with unusual

CHAP. II. passion and vehemence in his looks and gestures, "I did
 1685. not expect such an address from the House of Commons, having so lately recommended to your consideration the great advantages a good understanding between us had produced in a very short time, and given you warning of fears and jealousies amongst ourselves.

"I had reason to hope, that the reputation God hath blessed me with in the world, would have created and confirmed a greater confidence in you of me, and of all that I say to you; but however you proceed on your part, I will be steady in all my promises I have made to you, and be very just to my word in this, and all my other speeches."

The report of this speech was heard with general consternation.—Though the Tories had in reality dictated the address, not one of them could summon resolution enough to offer any remark on the answer. It was reserved for one of the few Whigs the house at that time contained, Mr. Coke, a country gentleman of large fortune, to interrupt the profound silence which prevailed. With true British spirit he exclaimed, "I hope we are all Englishmen, and not to be frightened out of our duty by a few high words." The house which heard him with pleasure, had not the firmness to support him. The Tories had relapsed into their abject fears and principles of submission. Lord Preston, one of the King's ministers, desired Mr. Coke's words might be taken down by the clerk, and afterwards moved he should be sent to the Tower. No one had the courage to make any opposition.—The attention, however, shewed to his dignity, did not appease the King. Observing he had no complaisance to expect from either house on the score of religion, he suddenly, and in anger, prorogued the parliament. The session had only lasted eleven days, beginning the 9th and closing the 20th of November.

By this abrupt prorogation, James lost seven hundred thousand pounds, which had been voted to him by parliament; but the grant of which, for want of time, had not been perfected into a law. He was satisfied with the

revenue which the zeal of the predominant party had CHAP. II.
settled upon him for life, and this, under his frugal
management, rendered him perfectly independent of his
parliament and people. 1685.

In the course of the session, Sir Thomas Clarges had entered into some calculations on the revenue and expenditure, and these calculations agree with those of James himself*. The revenue he computed at two millions sterling per annum.—The expense, including the support of the forces on foot, did not exceed one million three hundred thousand. With a revenue so far above his expenditure, we cannot but regard it as the last degree of meanness in this monarch to have become an humble and importunate suppliant to the court of France for an inconsiderable sum, not much exceeding altogether eighty thousand pounds.

The Scotch parliament had exhibited consummate *political* servility, a promptitude, an alacrity to augment the ^{Scotch Parliament.} *power* of the crown in almost every branch. But this by no means satisfied the King. What he looked for, was assent to his *religious* projects. Mr. Fox mentions the continued kindness to the Duke of Queensberry, notwithstanding his refusal on that head, as a proof that *religious* zeal was not the predominant passion of the King,—that *power* was his great object,—absolute government what he was aiming at. Had Mr. Fox lived to add only a few pages to his work, he would have had to relate, that this kindness was withdrawn precisely because the Duke's *religious*, did not keep pace with his *political*, obsequiousness. This is one of the instances in which the ingenious historian lays down a principle which operates against his own argument. The Earl of Murray, who had been more complaisant, and had actually abjured his religion in compliment to the King, was sent in his place as commissioner to open the second session of the parliament. The Duke fell into complete disgrace.

* M'Pherson's Papers, vol. i. p. 147.

CHAP. II. So intent was the King on what he regarded as the
 1685. cause of his religion, that he divested himself of all the
 arrogance of his character, and condescended to become
 an humble suitor to the Scotch parliament in its behalf.
 He told them in something like a whining tone, "that he
 wanted no supply.—All he wanted was indulgence in
 favour of his innocent Roman Catholic subjects, who lay
 under discouragements hardly to be named." Those very
 men who had been so abject and complying last session,
 could hardly be prevailed upon to make the least con-
 cession, now that *religion* was concerned. After repeated
 messages and importunities, they, with evident reluctance,
 expressed a willingness, that a bill should be prepared to
 indulge Roman Catholics in the *private* exercise of their
 worship. The King, observing that not all his power or
 caresses could overcome or melt away their Protestant
 tenaciousness, prorogued the parliament in displeasure,
 as he had done that of England.

He was now well determined not to summon another
 parliament in either kingdom, till he had prepared the way
 for his measures by gaining over the several members, and
 every man in the country who could at all assist him in his
 design. He renewed his *closetings* with fresh zeal, and
 displayed all the spirit of proselytism of a professed
 religious missionary. The judges were instructed in their
 circuits, to feel the pulses of men, and dispose them in
 favour of his views*. Apprehending he might not
 finally succeed with the approbation of parliament, and by
 the forms of law, he gathered a large military force which
 might awe or subdue his people. He formed a perpetual
 encampment of twelve thousand men on Hounslow Heath,
 and pleased himself with the hope of gaining over the
 soldiery by the pomp of military parade and evolutions.

1686. To give, however, something like the appearance of a
civil sanction to the design he was fully bent on, of intro-
 ducing Catholics into all the departments of the state, he

* Reresby, p. 239.

eagerly closed with an expedient which is said to have been suggested to him by Herbert, chief justice of the King's Bench. The expedient was highly approved of by Jefferies the chancellor; and supported by their advice the King carried it into effect soon after the breaking up of the parliament. His courts of law were to establish the prerogative he claimed of *dispensing with the tests*, according to his discretion. The judges were in the first place sounded; four of them, who were found refractory, were displaced. I will have twelve judges of my mind, said the King to one of them of the name of Jones.—Twelve judges, replied Jones, you may possibly find, Sir; but hardly twelve lawyers.

A coachman of Sir Edward Hales, who had accepted a commission of colonel, without submitting to the test, was directed to prosecute his master for the penalty of five hundred pounds, given by the law to any informer. The judges, with the exception of one (Judge Street) delivered their opinions in favour of the prerogative.

Hume, eager to display his talent at disputation, has exhibited, with much elaborate rhetoric, the several arguments, which he conceives *might* have been used on both sides of this question. He does not bring them forward as having been, *in point of fact*, urged, which could alone give them an *historical* claim to be introduced; but merely as reasonings which his own logical ingenuity could furnish. This is no less a fiction than the practice of the ancient historians, of framing speeches for the several personages who figure in their narrative. It is their method a little softened down. Introduced upon all occasions, according to Hume's custom, it is objectionable as a matter of taste; it stops the march of the history, and tires the reader impatient for the progress of events.

The contemporaries of the adjudication were little affected by the arguments by which it *was* or *might* be defended. They attended only to the corrupt practices by which it was procured, and to the consequence which flowed from it. The reflecting few saw with alarm the

CHAP. II. general conclusion to which it gave birth, of making all
 ——— law dependent on the King's pleasure. The multitude
 1686. felt their religious zeal or bigotry immediately thwarted,
 and cried out that their religion was in danger.

The King having gained the *adjudged* establishment of the prerogative, lost no time in making the most liberal use of it. Not content with filling all the ranks of his army with Catholics, he dispersed them all over the kingdom as lord-lieutenants of counties, sheriffs, and justices of peace. He had recourse to the process of *quo warrantos* to introduce them into the several corporations. There was no department in the state so high or low into which they were not admitted. While the King provided for the inferiors, he created judges from among them, and placed five of their peers at the council board—Lords Bellasis, Powis, Arundel, Dover, and Tyrconnell. In all this he was acting contrary to law; but not contrary to those principles of religious *toleration*, which those who would in these times be thought liberal, so warmly contend for. *Toleration*, in their sense, does not permit any tests which exclude *any* set of religionists from any office in the state. So far the conduct of James is entitled to their suffrages; but it is in the nature of man to pass from the liberal principle of admission to the narrow and partial principle of exclusion. Père d'Orléans tells us, he aspired only to throw open all employments to those of his own religion; but another step succeeded that of turning out all those who *were not*; and here his measures began to outrun the sketch traced out by the jesuit. He had displaced the judges whom he had found uncomplying: he proceeded to other employments in his service. Admiral Herbert occupied places about court to the value of three thousand a year. Though a man of pleasure, and to all appearance careless of religion, and besides expensive in his habits of life, he chose rather to surrender his places than the name of Protestant. D'Orléans forgetting that he had only attributed to the King the design of free admission, just takes notice of these dismissals, in order

to justify them.—He says it was unreasonable, that those who refused to him their services should enjoy his benefits. CHAP. II.
1686.

He takes care not to inform his readers, one of these services was a change of religion. It is not my intention to enter into a contest with the jesuit upon his position.—It is sufficient to observe, that the two principles combined, that of admitting all Catholics, and turning out all who were not, or at least did not immediately favour them, threw the whole Government into their hands. Those who warmly favoured them, were just admitted within the rule; but shortly nothing satisfied the King but a formal abjuration of the national religion. He proposed this to Colonel Kirk, who, as has been related, had so largely imbrued his hands in the blood of the King's enemies, after the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion. Kirk answered with some humour, that he was engaged to the Emperor of Morocco, if ever he changed his religion, to become a Mahometan.—Even Jefferies, the renowned champion of the kingly authority, would not gratify the King in a change of religion. From this moment, though he continued chancellor, he ceased to have any real influence in the Government,—a certain proof that it was not absolute power James was so anxious for; for, had this been his principal or great object, could Jefferies have ceased to be a favourite?

Sir John Reresby*, adverting to these several cases of Herbert, Kirk, and Jefferies, and many others, derives the spirit of resistance displayed from a sense of honour operating on the minds of men.—The opinion of a contemporary writer is no doubt entitled to much weight; but it must strike every reader of the history of these times, that *religion then* possessed a very different degree of importance from what it does at *present*; and the zeal which maintained the division of Catholics and Protestants, was of a far different temper. This observation will often recur to us as we proceed in our narrative.

* Mem. p. 244.

CHAP. II. One distinguished personage, whom no portion of the
 1686. zeal in question ever reached, was the Earl of Sunderland.
 Intent only on the possession of power, or probably still
 more on the emoluments of office to feed his extravagance,
 he felt no scruples, and was restrained by no motive from
 the step which alone he knew would fortify him against
 all intrigues for his removal, and raise him above all com-
 petitors who might not be so complying. He resolved to
 abjure his religion, but interposed affected delays, in order,
 it may be conjectured, to gratify the vanity of the priests
 who were labouring for his conversion, and whose argu-
 ments he appeared to listen to, with daily increasing con-
 viction. One of his competitors, Lord Halifax, he had
 already got rid of. He was now intent on the overthrow
 of another, the Earl of Rochester. At first, he had
 recourse to usual and vulgar means, by infusing jealousy
 into the mind of the Queen, pointing out to her the exalted
 situation of a brother of James's deceased wife, while her
 immediate friends and followers were comparatively neg-
 lected. But observing he made little progress by these
 ordinary arts, he had recourse to the great engine of never-
 failing power—religion. He knew Rochester, though a
 slave to the prerogative, and restrained by no scruples
 where that alone was in question, to be a most zealous
 Protestant, partly, it may be presumed, from conviction,
 and partly from party passion, being considered as the
 leader of the church party, whose attachment he was most
 assiduous in cultivating. James's disposition, he was
 aware, was that of all enthusiasts, who attribute irresistible
 cogency to the arguments by which they themselves have
 been persuaded, and piously believe they must carry con-
 viction wherever they are listened to. On these facts
 Sunderland built his scheme. He told the King*, Roches-
 ter had a mind to change his religion, and only wanted a
 little argument to confirm his disposition. The King,
 delighted at the information, sent immediately to Roches-

* James himself.—M'Pherson, v. i. p. 140.

ter, to invite him to a conference with his priests. Ro-CHAP. II.
chester would at first have rejected the proposal with
indignation; but on reflection, he deemed it a method of 1686.

quitting the court, an event, which he saw was inevitable, with all the appearance of a triumph, and in the manner the most striking on the public mind, and the most agreeable to his partizans. He answered, accepting the invitation.—The whole host of Catholic divines was drawn up in battle array to meet him. Their artillery of theological syllogisms was discharged; and just as they were in the full enjoyment of their supposed victory, Rochester got up contemptuously, and said, the wretched sophistry he had heard only made him a more confirmed Protestant than before.—As soon as the news of the approaching controversy had got abroad, the whole public had been in a gaze of curiosity and expectation.—The bigots on both sides went about the streets recapitulating the arguments which they deemed invincible.—The ambitious projects of Lewis XIV., the affairs of Europe, were forgotten. It may be imagined, therefore, what a shout of applause attended the winding up which Rochester had so artfully prepared. Sunderland would willingly have succeeded Rochester dismissed, him as high treasurer; but the King, either because he knew him not expert in accounts, or using that as a pretext for a reluctance which proceeded from other motives, refused to gratify him. He however got himself named president of the council, while he retained the seals of secretary of state. The treasury was put into commission, and Lord Bellasis, a Roman Catholic, appointed first commissioner.

As the promotion of the Catholic religion was now indisputably the main, almost the sole, object of the Government, it followed that none but Catholics were to be consulted. Sunderland was not regarded as an exception, having already testified his disposition, and only delaying his formal conversion, in order the more conspicuously to mark the polemical superiority of the Catholic divines. The whole administration was resolved into a

CHAP. II. Cabal of seven. junto, which, from the number of persons composing it, was called the cabal of seven. The King himself was at the head. After him came Sunderland and Father Petre, a jesuit, the Queen's confessor. The four others were all professed Catholics, Lords Bellasis, Powis, Arundel, and Dover: James* expresses himself contemptuously of Father Petre; yet at this time he was regarded as the person of chief influence on his mind. Sunderland, by flattering his vanity and excessive conceit, had gained a complete ascendant over him, so that he ruled the junto, and through the junto, the kingdom. It was necessary to gratify their zeal, and a zeal still more ardent, that of the King. Every thing was conducted as if the Catholic was already the religion of the state. Four Catholic bishops were publicly consecrated in the King's chapel. Their pastoral letters were printed and published by royal licence. Swarms of monks and friars appeared at court in the habits of their respective orders, and were heard to boast they would soon walk in procession through London. A regular establishment of Benedictine friars was made at St. James's. Catholic chapels and colleges were erected in all parts of the city and country.

James would not only re-establish the Catholic religion in his dominions, but it seemed his study to do it in the most decided, ostentatious manner, and with every mark of contempt for the opinions and prejudices of his subjects. The less he was shackled by the maxims of worldly prudence, the greater, he conceived, would be his spiritual merit in the pious undertaking; and he either persuaded himself that all obstacles would give way before him, or he admitted with complacency some lurking notions of the glory of *martyrdom*. He proceeded with the most determined fanaticism. All intercourse with Papal Rome was no less than treason by act of parliament:—for this very reason he sent a solemn embassy to the Pope. He had already, as has been noticed, deputed a private person

Embassy to Rome.

* M^cPherson, p. 148.

with letters to the pontiff, so that he must have been fired CHAP. II.
 with the ambition of doing something singularly offensive
 to his people. Another reason assigned is, that Father 1686.
 Petre, not satisfied with the place he had obtained at the
 council board, and his large share in the direction of the
 Government, aspired to a cardinal's hat, and he thought it
 would be a disparagement to his birth and rank, if the
 honour was solicited in a less public and direct manner.
 The Earl of Castlemaine was chosen to go as ambassador,
 and his public instructions were, that he was to proceed
 to reconcile the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ire-
 land, *to the holy see**:

Innocent XI. filled the pontifical chair. He was, at
 this time, full of the most violent resentment against the
 King of France, who had recently insulted him in his own
 capital with all the insolent display of military despotism.
 Animated by the passions which such an indignity was
 calculated to excite, he received very coldly the ambassa-
 dor of James, whom he regarded as confederated with the
 object of his animosity. The views and passions of the
 political sovereign prevailed over the character of the
 spiritual chief, and the interests of the religion which re-
 vered him as its head. He succeeded in persuading him-
 self that the zeal of the King of England was intemperate,
 that his projects had no foundation of probability to assist
 them, and that the Catholic religion itself would finally
 be rather injured than served by them. Petre's hat was
 peremptorily refused, as well as one that was solicited for
 Rinaldo d'Estè, Prince of Modena, uncle to the Queen of
 England. The only concession James could obtain,
 according to his own confession†, was a permission to
 name three vicars general in England. The jesuits
 resolved to make the ambassador some amends for the
 coldness he had experienced from the Pope. These holy
 men were at all times anxious to appear forward in the
 war with heresy, and their partial fondness for the cha-

* Welwood.

† M'Pherson.

CHAP. II. racter and conduct of James would be rather animated than
 1686. undergo any diminution by the appearance of intemperance
 in his zeal. They received the ambassador with great
 pomp at their principal seminary in Rome. A magnificent
 banquet was spread for him and his retinue, and, in the
 midst of it, the rector got up and pronounced a solemn
 harangue of congratulation, hailing him, with a profusion
 of bad rhetoric, as the chosen instrument of re-uniting the
 British dominions to the Catholic faith.

Nuncio in
 England.

In return for the embassy, the Pope could do no less
 than send a nuncio to England. The King eagerly seized
 this new opportunity of defying the laws, and offending
 the opinions of his subjects. A public and state reception
 was given to the nuncio at Windsor. The Duke of So-
 merset was dismissed from the bed-chamber for testifying
 his disapprobation. The nuncio, who had brought little
 zeal with him from Rome, and who was a prudent, mode-
 rate man, was not long in England before he discovered
 the folly of the King's measures, and he openly expressed
 his opinion.

Ireland.

When so little reserve or moderation was observed in
 England, such little attention to the feelings, opinions, or
 prejudices of a Protestant people, it may well be thought,
 the measures in favour of the Catholics would be still
 more open, direct, and animated, by a larger portion of
 fanatical zeal in Ireland, where a *Catholic* population was
 prepared to second and applaud them. James's adminis-
 tration in this kingdom will be regarded by most readers
 as a fairer criterion of the nature of his schemes and
 objects, and of the spirit he would have extended to every
 part of his dominions, had he not been stopped in his
 career, than the representations of his scribe, the jesuit
 d'Orléans.

The Duke of Ormond held the vice-royalty of Ireland
 during the latter part of the preceding reign. His removal,
 and a new system of policy and measures had already been
 resolved upon in the councils of Charles when James
 mounted the throne. He lost no time in executing a

resolution which he himself and his adherents had pro-CHAP. II.
bably suggested. The successor, however, he chose for 1686.
Ormond was not in all respects fitted to his views. Lord
Clarendon, brother of his first wife, as likewise of lord
treasurer Rochester, proceeded to assume the govern-
ment.

Clarendon was duly tutored in the principles of sub-^{Lord Cla-}
mission to the King's authority. James had not to appre-^{rendon.}
hend from him any remonstrances or representations in
favour of the *civil* or *political* rights of his subjects; but
he was withal, like his brother Rochester, a steady and
tenacious Protestant. No very considerable compliances
in favour of the Catholic religion were to be expected from
him. If his principles and habits of *civil* obedience re-
strained him from any direct or loud opposition, he cer-
tainly would not lend any active or cordial co-operation.
Whatever he could do by occasional murmurs or expres-
sions of respectful disapprobation, and little underhand
management, would have for its object the support of the
establishment to which he was warmly attached. We are
in possession of his political correspondence during this
period, and this is precisely the representation it exhibits,—
a constant and curious struggle between his Protestant
zeal and political obsequiousness. It may therefore appear
extraordinary that James should have appointed him to
his situation, or not immediately have recalled him when
he observed his reluctance to favour his designs. His
original appointment may be attributed to some partiality
which the King still felt for the kindred of his deceased
wife; or, perhaps an opinion that, of all his Protestant
counsellors, Clarendon was the least likely to offer a direct
opposition to his religious scheme, however indisposed to
view its progress with inward satisfaction, and his not being
yet prepared entirely to throw off the mask, by naming at
once a Catholic vice-roy. It was, however, soon dis-
covered that Clarendon, though invested with the title of
lord-lieutenant, possessed little of the confidence of his

CHAP. II. sovereign, and that all substantial power resided in another.

Richard
Talbot,
Earl of
Tyrconnel.

Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, was appointed commander-in-chief of the army, with authority entirely independent of the lord-lieutenant. Tyrconnel was an ungovernable, fanatical Catholic, and all his measures bore the colour of the passions which inspired him. He determined to disarm the Protestants. Whole regiments were disbanded. Three hundred officers were deprived of their commissions, which many of them had purchased from their private fortunes. The soldiers were stripped of their regimentals, and left to wander in nakedness and misery through the country. On the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, the system was extended. It was alleged that every Protestant was secretly leagued with the rebels, and, on that pretext, arms were taken, even in private houses, from persons of that persuasion. The arms so taken were deposited in stores and magazines, to supply the Catholics upon an emergency. The orders of the King to Tyrconnel are said to have been to admit persons of all religions indiscriminately into the army: but the person who had taken upon himself to cashier all Protestants, with a fanaticism perfectly consistent, would receive none but Catholic recruits. This proceeding was directly contrary to the law, which required that every person accepting any employment whatsoever, as well military as civil, should qualify himself by taking the oath of supremacy. Clarendon, however, though sufficiently inclined to maintain the laws on which the Protestant establishment rested for support, yet from his habits of submission to the will of his sovereign, ventured to interpose little opposition, and excused his pusillanimity, by alleging that these things belonged to Tyrconnel's independent military command. But when the latter, encouraged by his patience, took this excuse out of his mouth, and openly carried his principle into the civil departments of Government, Clarendon was at last roused, and sent remonstrances to England, which

every day rose in their tone. Tyrconnel was eagerly bent CHAP. II.
on overturning the famous Act of Settlement, framed in
the preceding reign, before the King considered himself 1686.
as firmly seated in his newly restored throne, and when he
had to soothe the humours of Protestants and court their
attachment, by which much of the property of the king-
dom had been transferred into their hands, and the Catholic
interest proportionally weakened, in reality absolutely
destroyed. This design he hoped to effect by means of a
parliament, which he proposed to convoke, and to render
of a character very different from former ones, by filling
the whole lower house with Catholic members. He ac-
cordingly began to new model the corporations which had
the returns, and suit them to his views.

Clarendon's remonstrances were disregarded, and their
tone gave offence to a court animated by a spirit directly
opposite to them. The appeals to the laws of the king-
dom, which composed their chief burthen, were odious to
a sovereign who had these laws in aversion, and was
determined to trample upon them. Tyrconnel was en-
couraged in his continual encroachments on the rights of
his superior, and he proceeded to that degree of arrogance
and presumption as openly to overlook the very name and
forms of Clarendon's authority. He persuaded some of
the most noisy and zealous of the Catholics to repair to
Dublin, as delegates from the several counties, and form
themselves into an assembly, or mock parliament, for the
purpose of framing a petition, which they were to transmit
to England without the intervention of the lord-lieutenant.
Clarendon, deserted by his sovereign, threw himself for
support on the more sensible and respectable members of
the persuasion, who had the generosity to forget the reli-
gious grievances under which they laboured, and discour-
age assemblies so adverse to the laws and constitution of
their country. Under their frowns this system of insult
and defiance on the legal representative of the royal
authority disappeared. Tyrconnel observing the progress
of James's measures and councils, and aware of the dis-

CHAP. II. pleasure with which Clarendon's however feeble and
 1686. respectful opposition was viewed, deemed the conjuncture
 ripe for the full attainment of his ambitious hopes. Clarendon
 had gradually sunk into insignificance, and came to be
 considered as little more than a prisoner in his custody :
 but Tyrconnel was impatient to assume the name and
 trappings of power, as he had long been in possession of
 the reality of it. He thought he could best promote his
 plan for the convocation of a Catholic parliament, and the
 overturn of the Act of Settlement if he was armed with the
 title of lord-lieutenant. He repaired to England to solicit
 it, and entirely displace his feeble rival Clarendon. His
 arrival was just after the dismissal of Clarendon's brother,
 Rochester, when the King was entirely under the influence
 of their enemies. The most powerful of these, however,
 Sunderland, was poor and greedy ; and Tyrconnel had to
 assist his religious and political intrigues about the court
 by a considerable bribe to the chief minister. Sunderland
 is said to have been gained over to his appointment as
 lord-lieutenant, by a promise of five thousand pounds a
 year out of the salary. Some of the King's advisers,
 even Catholics, dreading the temerity of Tyrconnel, and
 regarding the Act of Settlement with favour, as the main
 support of the English power in Ireland*, testified no slender
 opposition. The King himself was so much of the Eng-
 lishman as to entertain doubts on the expediency of rescind-
 ing the Act of Settlement†. But the fanaticism of
 Tyrconnel too well accorded with his own, and Tyrcon-
 nel prevailed. He returned to Ireland in the beginning
 of 1686, invested with the title of lord-lieutenant. While
 in England, he had ventured to vindicate his designs
 through the agency of a servile press. He had come
 accompanied by an Irish lawyer of the name of Nagle,
 who had dedicated his whole mind and studies to the de-
 struction of the Act of Settlement. Nagle assembled all

* The opinions of the English on the subject are described in Barillon's
 dispatch of October 16, 1687.

† M'Pherson, p. 170.

the arguments by which his favourite measure, he conceived, could be justified, and published them in a tract, which made some noise at the time, and was known by the name of the *Coventry Letter*. Whatever might be the merits of this publication, Tyrconnel, as lord-lieutenant, resolved to trust to means of more prompt and overcoming efficacy than any furnished by argument. Whatever disguise or appearance of moderation Clarendon's presence had imposed, was entirely thrown off. All employments, civil and military, were conferred almost exclusively on Catholics. The council board was filled with them. The Protestant judges, with the exception of three, who were deemed men of mean capacity and servile disposition, were expelled to make room for them. Nagle, in reward for his hostility to the Act of Settlement, was appointed attorney-general. A Catholic chancellor was chosen, but we may suspect the relations of the times of exaggeration, in describing the person to whom this high office was given. They tell us, that Tyrconnel, on his way to Ireland found one Filton confined in jail at Chester for forgery, whom he liberated, and soon after his arrival created chancellor*. That he was a man of extreme ignorance, to the degree as not to be acquainted with the forms of his office, and of brutal impetuosity of language and manners, may more easily be believed. He was heard to declare from the bench, that the Protestants were all rogues, and that there was not one among forty thousand who did not deserve to be hanged. By this despicable fanaticism, and his headlong zeal against the Act of Settlement, he is said to have recommended himself to Tyrconnel, and have atoned for all the turpitude of his character and conduct. Nugent and Price, two Catholics sufficiently respectable, had been appointed, one chief justice of the King's Bench, and the other chief baron of the Exchequer. These two, with the attorney-general and the chancellor, formed a junto for the overturning the

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1686.

* Hume.

CHAP. II. Act of Settlement, which involved the destruction of the Protestant interest in Ireland. The system of new modelling the corporations was prosecuted to a greater extent; and, to secure the returns of the counties, Chancellor Filton chose all the justices of the peace and sheriffs from the Catholic body. These arrangements being in a train of completion it was judged expedient to communicate the project of a Catholic parliament to the English court, and solicit its approbation. Nugent and Price repaired to London as ambassadors for the purpose, followed by a considerable retinue. They did not escape the insults of the populace, who, whenever they appeared in public, indulged the ruling passions of their hearts, and testified their hatred and contempt of them both as Irishmen and Papists.

1686.

The ambassadors found the English court lukewarm and wavering as to their project. The more sober and reflecting of the Catholics were alarmed at the proceedings of Tyrconnel. Lord Bellasis was heard to exclaim, "that fellow Dick Talbot, is madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms." Many wished to have him displaced, and Lord Castlemaine, recently returned from his Roman embassy, was named as his successor. What support he received from Sunderland in this crisis is not absolutely certain. Sunderland's own declarations will appear in the sequel, and the narratives of other writers contrasted with them.

Tyrconnel was not disheartened by the rumours of a removal. He no wise abated from the fanatical character of his proceedings, and probably thereby secured himself in the good graces of his master, and prevailed over the attempts against him.—The Catholic bishops were encouraged to appear at the vice-regal residence in their pontifical robes. Monks and friars, in their habits, were seen in all the avenues of the court. Pensions out of the revenues of the Protestant sees were assigned to the former; and the Archbishopric of Cashel remaining some time vacant, a busy and mysterious whisper ran among the Catholic

devotees, that a priest was to be sent by the Pope to take formal possession of it.—The friars, with their usual impetuosity and imprudence, talked with the utmost contempt of the Protestants, and affected to consider the utter destruction of heresy as a thing certain and determined on. Encouraged by the indulgence of the Government to every thing that had the appearance of Catholic, banditti known by the name of Tories, and who, issuing from a Catholic population, were of course all Catholics, sallied out of their recesses, and impelled by religious zeal, or what is more probable, tempted by the defenceless state of the Protestants, who had been deprived of their arms, made them the chief object of their predatory excursions. The Protestants were seized with consternation; and, apprehending a general massacre, in those habits of credulous terror, which recent tradition not a little encouraged, fled in multitudes from the kingdom, carrying away with them their wealth and effects. One thousand five hundred families had already emigrated at the departure of Lord Clarendon.

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1686.

Scotland was in different circumstances from Ireland. Scotland. Its inhabitants professed the Protestant religion, and in the form most adverse to the Catholic. Yet, there too, the same spirit of Government prevailed. Every consideration gave way to the establishment of the Catholic religion. It has been seen, the Duke of Queensberry, notwithstanding his political servility, was displaced. Lord Chancellor Perth, who had always been anxious to supplant him in the King's favour, the more effectually to secure his downfall and his own triumph, took the step which he had refused, and embraced the King's religion. He was followed in this example of compliance by his brother, Lord Melfort. These two noblemen, the more agreeably to season their religious change, gravely assured the King, it was the papers found in his deceased brother's strong box, and with which his royal discernment had favoured the world, that had opened their eyes to the verity of the Catholic faith, and effected their conversion. From the

CHAP. II. moment of this conversion, they, conjointly with the Earl
 of Murray, became the sole possessors of favour and power
 1686. in Scotland. Every act emanated from them and their
 subalterns.

While this religious character of the King's govern-
 ment displayed itself without disguise or attempt at con-
 cealment in Ireland and Scotland, it became every day
 England. more discernible in England.—The success which seemed
 to attend his measures in those parts of his dominions,
 encouraged him to bolder and more open proceedings in
 this his centre kingdom. The church, or episcopal party,
 had now declared itself against the court. The zeal of
 James was encountered by zeal no less strenuous on their
 side.—The pulpits, from which nothing had so long been
 heard but the doctrines of loyalty and submission, carried
 to the extreme of passive obedience, accompanied by
 invectives against republicans and rebels, which were
 supposed to comprehend all the sectaries, directed all
 their hostility against Popery and Papists. Noisy contro-
 versy was the burthen of every sermon, and polemical
 vehemence the characteristic of every preaching divine.—
 This direction of the clergy of the established church
 gave a corresponding direction to the measures of the
 King's advisers. To awe and control the established
 church, and keep the whole body of its preachers in sub-
 jection, it was determined in the cabal of seven, to erect a
 Court of ecclesiastical commission, after the model of a
 court which had sat in the reign of Charles I.; but which
 had been abolished by a special act of parliament, with a
 clause forbidding the re-erection of any similar court.
 But an act of parliament was never any check or restraint
 on the King's undertakings. Seven ecclesiastical com-
 missioners were appointed, with Jefferies and Sunderland
 at their head; and an occasion soon presented itself for
 the exercise of their jurisdiction. Among the contro-
 versial tribe, a Dr. Sharpe, a clergyman of London, par-
 ticularly distinguished himself by the unusual vehemence
 of his polemical homilies. In the heat of his argument

one day, he spoke in terms of unqualified contempt of the understandings of those whom the wretched sophistry of the Romish missionaries could pervert. This was construed into a personal reflection on the King. His diocesan, the Bishop of London, was ordered to suspend him; and on the bishop's returning an evasive answer, the persecution was directed against him. Ever since his conduct in the last session of parliament, this prelate had been particularly obnoxious to the court. His name had been struck out of the council book, and this opportunity for still weightier punishment was eagerly embraced. He was cited before the ecclesiastical commissioners, and when he refused to recognize the legality of the court, the court proceeded to suspend him from his episcopal functions.

The breach between the King and the church party became every day wider. He relinquished the hope he had indulged of engrafting on the habits of *political* submission a degree of *religious* subserviency, which might assist him in his views, and resolved to address himself to the Presbyterians and sectaries. There can be no doubt that he cordially hated these men. That he regarded them as republicans and enemies to the monarchy is evident, from the following passage in a letter of his to the Prince of Orange, dated May 29, 1679:—"The Presbyterians design nothing less than the ruin of the monarchy and our family." Again, in the June of the same year, he writes—"The Presbyterian party, which is the republican." "The Presbyterians will never fail to lay hold of any opportunity to down with the monarchy*." Agreeably to these views, he uniformly persecuted them. Mr. Fox triumphantly seizes on the fact of this persecution, and asks, why were they persecuted?—because they were known friends of civil liberty.—Therefore the King's principal object was the destruction of liberty. But his whole theory is confounded, and his argument laid pros-

* Dal. App.

CHAP. II. trate, when the other fact comes out, that this same King, notwithstanding his aversion to the sectaries, and his eagerness to persecute them, courted and caressed them, and gave them a decided preference over the steady friends and supporters of his principles in politics, and the objects of his warmest political partiality.—That he was late in doing so, and did it with evident reluctance, is admitted; and Mr. Fox's notions gain nothing by the circumstance. The fact, on the contrary, strengthens the explanation so adverse to his theory. He preferred an alliance with the episcopal party, whom he regarded as attached friends to the monarchy; but when he perceived the terms of this alliance would never admit of his religious projects, rather than relinquish these, he abandoned his *political* supporters, and went over to the objects of his political detestation; so much stronger and more paramount was the religious passion in his breast, and so little were views of a mere political nature attended to in the comparison. Had Mr. Fox lived to continue his history, he would have found himself inextricably embarrassed by the principles he laid down on a circumscribed view of events. The anxiety of the King to gain over the sectaries, and the obsequious arts he practised for this purpose, are strongly expressed by Sir John Reresby*, an eye witness of what was going forward; and his description assumes the form of an observation made at the very time:—"Now, in this progress, (speaking of a journey the King made through a part of England) it was an observation generally made, that the King courted the Dissenters, and discountenanced the church of England. For the Papists being by no means a body of themselves numerous enough to cope with the national church, he thought to strengthen by a junction with the Dissenters, whom he blinded with his liberty of conscience, and with telling them that he desired a repeal of the Test and Penal Laws, for their ease and security, as much as in behalf of the Papists."

* Mem. p. 248, 249.

With a view of thus blinding the Dissenters, and seducing them to concur in his design for the re-establishment of the Catholic religion, he issued both in England and Scotland a declaration of indulgence, which at once suspended the whole code of penal statutes, and *seemed* to *befriend* alike Dissenters from the national church of all descriptions. As he regarded Scotland, from the prevalence of high monarchical notions, better prepared for his measures than the sister kingdom, the Scotch declaration made its appearance some months before the other, and ran in a style, which was either introduced by some secret enemy for the purpose of disclosing his real views and warning the nation, or might flow from the unguarded and extravagant fanaticism which equally characterized the King and his confidential advisers. The former explanation has been adopted by some writers. They tell us, that one Stuart, a Scotch lawyer, had contrived to insinuate himself into the good graces of Lord Melfort, secretary of state for Scotland, had crept into his confidence, and artfully got himself appointed to draw up all the state papers. Stuart had been, in a former part of his life, concerned in the Rye House Plot, and had afterwards borne arms under the Duke of Monmouth. His treasons had been pardoned, and he had been taken into favour; but he remained faithful to the principles and views of his old associates;—or perhaps he was aware of the deciduous character of the government which employed him, and was in secret correspondence with its enemies. Certain it is, if it was he who penned the Scotch declaration, he made use of language, and introduced expressions well calculated to undermine the interests of his employers. It set out by saying “That he (the King) had thought fit by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and *absolute government*, which all his subjects were to obey *without reserve*, to grant this royal toleration.”—As if the Catholic were already the established religion, and armed with all the authority of the state, the declaration promised “the King would never use force or *invincible necessity* against

CHAP. II.
Declarations of indulgence.

CHAP. II. any man on account of his persuasion of the Protestant religion." It was obvious, that this was the language of a Catholic dispensing, and that too in guarded and ambiguous terms, a species of toleration to Protestants.

1687.

This is the manner in which some have accounted for the Scotch declaration.—It is not, however, pretended, that the one published in England was the composition of any such ill-designing scribe, yet one part of it was equally marked with precipitation and imprudence. The King, as if he had accomplished his object of restoring the ancient religion, declared he would "maintain his loving subjects in all their properties and possessions, as well of church and abbey lands as of any other." The phraseology of both papers may, therefore, in a great measure be attributed to the overflowing bigotry of his councils.

Addresses. Yet, notwithstanding these expressions, the declarations succeeded for a time in blinding the Dissenters, which was the purpose they were intended to answer.—They were, at least hailed as a respite from the severities imposed upon them by the church party, and addresses from the several denominations of sectaries, expressing no slender approbation and gratitude, were presented to the throne. This was conduct springing from the constitution of human nature, and cannot be thought deserving of any very severe blame, though Tory writers, at a subsequent period, were not sparing of it. Their example was followed by a number of other public bodies,—the body of lawyers, the City of London, and even five bishops at the head of their clergy. Yet it may be affirmed, the church party was for the greater number incurably alienated. It may even be doubted whether the undistinguishing liberality which the declarations professed, though very remote from the intentions of the framers of them, did not contribute more to this effect, than any undisguised favour shewn to the Catholics would have done. The church party hated the Catholics, but they hated *still more* a principle which was altogether to destroy the system of intolerance and persecution they had exercised. To have the door thrown

open to all the objects of their animosity, to hear no more of disabilities and exclusions, was what they least could bear. They would have been more easily reconciled to resign their power over the Catholics, if some field had been reserved to them for their persecuting spirit. CHAP. II.
1687.

The complete alienation of this party convinced King he had nothing to expect from parliament. He adopted the resolution of dissolving it in July 1687. He had till this time entertained hopes from his secret practices with the members, and had accordingly kept it on foot by successive prorogations, notwithstanding his ill success at its last meeting.

But though deprived of all hopes from the forms of the constitution, and wholly unable to bring the appearance of law on his side, he was not discouraged. He determined to fill the seminaries and places of education which seemed consecrated to the maintenance and promotion of the established religion with his own zealots and partisans, and gain possession of the stream at its very source. The jesuit d'Orléans has ventured to assert, in the passage already quoted at full length, that the English church remained in possession of the universities. The events of this year prove that this was not owing to the King's moderation or forbearance.—At Cambridge, he recommended by his mandate one Father Francis, a Benedictine monk, for a degree of master of arts. Had he stopped here, he could not have been accused of an exorbitant ambition for his favourites. He only asked for one of them an honorary distinction which had been extended to learned foreigners of all persuasions. It had been lately conferred on the secretary of the Emperor of Morocco; yet so heated were the minds of men that he was unable to prevail. The university refused to obey the King's mandate. After some altercation the matter was dropped. Attempts
on the uni-
versities.

He was not so moderate at Oxford.—His attempt here was of considerable importance. He seemed resolved to try how far these learned men would adhere to the letter

CHAP. II. of their own celebrated decree, in which they had solemnly
 1687. promulgated the doctrine of passive obedience; but he found that the feelings and inclinations will, in these cases, rebel against theory.

The presidentship of Magdalen College, one of the richest foundations in Europe, having become vacant, a mandate was issued to the fellows to elect one Farmer. This Farmer was a man of infamous life and character, and besides laboured under certain disabilities specified in the statutes of the college. The fellows pleaded these disabilities. To get rid of their objection, the recommendation was transferred to Parker, who had been recently appointed to the see of Oxford, in reward for the disposition he had evinced to embrace the religion of the court, and who had written a book in defence of the prerogative to dispense with the tests. The fellows again excused themselves.—Sunderland wrote in the King's name a most peremptory letter, commanding obedience. They contrived a number of delays and evasions, and received fresh orders and sharper rebukes. The King had commenced a journey through a part of the kingdom. He was so incensed at the resistance of Magdalen College, that he suddenly interrupted his progress and repaired to Oxford. He had here the weakness to expose himself in a personal altercation with the fellows of a college. He called them before him, and told them after a deal of vehement upbraiding, that unless they yielded immediate obedience, "they should feel the weight of his hand." This threat, uttered from the mouth of a sovereign, did not overcome their resolution. Parker, the second candidate dying, they were required to elect Gifford, a doctor of Sorbonne, one of the four vicars apostolic. Things remained in this state, when the attention both of the King and nation was arrested by events of greater moment, which produced with irresistible rapidity the deliverance of England at the crisis of her greatest danger.

1688. So determined was James on his experiment of indulgence to all sectaries, that he thought proper to publish a

second declaration couched in stronger and more explicit language, and subjoined to it an order to the clergy of every diocese, that they should read it in their several churches immediately after divine service. This was too much for the most bigotted zealots of passive obedience in the church party to endure. The bishops were roused.—Six of them, whose names deserve to be commemorated, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Kenne of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol, met to confer with Sancroft the primate, at his palace at Lambeth. Two or three other divines were invited to attend them. Lord Clarendon was the only layman admitted to this important conference; a distinguished honour, which pointed him out as possessed of the confidence of the church party. The assembled prelates agreed to the following petition to be presented to the King:—

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“ Humbly sheweth, that the great averseness they find in themselves, to the distributing and publishing in all their churches your Majesty’s late declaration for liberty of conscience, proceeds neither from any want of duty and obedience to your Majesty, (our holy mother the Church of England being both in her principles and constant practice unquestionably loyal, and having, to her honour, been, more than once, publicly acknowledged to be so by your gracious Majesty,) nor yet from any want of tenderness to Dissenters, in relation to whom, we are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter shall be considered and settled in parliament and convocation; but, among many other considerations, from this especially, because that declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power as hath been often declared illegal in parliament, and particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majesty’s reign; and in a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation both in church and state, your petitioners cannot in prudence, honour, or conscience, so

Bishops’
Petition.

CHAP. II. far make themselves parties to it, as the distribution of it
all over the nation, and the solemn publication of it once
1688. again, even in God's house, and in the time of divine
service must amount to, in common and reasonable construction.

“Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly and earnestly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased not to insist upon their distributing and reading your said declaration.”

Sancroft being confined by illness, the six bishops proceeded without him, and presented it in person to the King. He read it with great emotion, and answered, “I have heard of this before, but did not believe it. I did not expect this from the Church of England, especially from some of you. If I change my mind, you shall hear from me; if not, I expect my command shall be obeyed.” ‘We resign ourselves to the will of God,’ replied the bishops, bowed and withdrew.

In order to keep this petition perfectly secret, Archbishop Sancroft took the precaution to write it out with his own hand; yet copies of it got abroad.—It was printed and circulated throughout the whole kingdom, where it was read by all classes and descriptions of men with untired avidity, and kindled a general conflagration of zeal and admiration for the prelates from whom it proceeded.

It was perhaps the expression of popular feeling that provoked the court to think of setting on foot a prosecution against the bishops. Perhaps the King was induced to take this step by the advice of men who wished to drive him to his destruction. This is his own representation of the matter as it appeared to his after-thoughts, and he names Chancellor Jefferies as his principal adviser on this occasion*. This hot-headed lawyer might, without any treacherous intention, have thought to efface the

* M'Pherson, p. 152.

offence he had given by refusing to give up his religion, CHAP. II.
by his extraordinary zeal and violence in supporting what
he might term the authority of the crown. 1688.

That James wavered and fluctuated much as to the conduct he should adopt, is evident from his not taking any step whatever for the space of three weeks after he received the obnoxious composition. The picture he traces of his mind during this anxious period*, well deserves the attention of the statesman and the speculator on the course of human events:—"In the case of the bishops, there is no doubt but the King had done better in not forcing some wheels, when he found the whole machine stop. But his prepossession against the yielding temper which had proved so dangerous to his brother, and fatal to the King his father, fixed him in a contrary method. He had always preached against the wavering councils of his brother, and seeing that other bishops made not the same difficulty, and since many complied, he thought the rest ought to do the same." The lesson to be deduced from this passage is that there is no invariable rule of human conduct. What serves a state in one combination of circumstances, overturns it in another; what is now firmness and vigour is, at another time, obstinacy and madness. Political wisdom consists in a nice discernment of, perhaps minute, and what to many would appear trifling, circumstances, and a suitable adaptation of conduct to their unceasing variations. At the end of three weeks, the bishops were summoned before the privy council, and called upon to own their petition. This they might have refused to do, and it would have been impossible to fix it upon them by adequate legal proof. After a little hesitation, they judged it unmanly to shelter themselves under this subterfuge, and frankly confessed the petition to be their act. James says he would have admitted them to bail, but that they, for the purpose of inflaming the nation, preferred being imprisoned. It is not improbable,

* M'Pherson, p. 152.

CHAP. II. that some love of popular applause, unperceived by them-
 1688. selves, blended itself in their holy breasts with higher motives. When Jefferies signified to them the order for their committal to the Tower, they answered with saintly resignation, "that they would go wherever the King pleased, for that the King of Kings was their protector and judge."

The Bi-
shops sent
to the
Tower.

To keep them, if possible, from the eager curiosity of the multitude, they were conveyed to the Tower by water; but never was precaution more unavailing. The people having got intimation of the design, the banks of the river on both sides were thronged with spectators. They crowded at every window, and climbed up on every roof from which the most distant and imperfect view could be obtained. Multitudes behind multitudes might be seen with straining eyes, expecting the barges which contained the objects of their enthusiastic veneration. No sooner were they descried, than one universal and mournful cry resounded. The people, unable to restrain their impatience, rushed into the water. All eyes were bedewed with tears, every tongue uttered prayers for the speedy deliverance of the holy men. They, on their side, agreeably to the sanctity of their characters, breathed only the accents of patience and humility. They exhorted the people to fear God, honour the King, and preserve their religion. The soldiers who guarded them were seized with the contagion of love and veneration, and falling on their knees, implored their blessing. On their arrival at the Tower, the bell was tolling for evening service; the clergyman had entered the chapel. The prelates hastened to return thanks to the great Dispenser of all Things, for what he had judged them worthy to suffer in defence of his holy name.

Their trial.

A little more than a month after, they were brought to their trial. The 29th of June, 1688, was the important day, and their triumph was every way complete. The same crowds watched them in their progress from the Tower to Westminster Hall. Twenty-nine peers, followed

by the most distinguished commoners, composed a splen- CHAP. II.
did escort about their persons, and attended them into the
presence of their judges. The most eminent lawyers 1688.

spoke on their side. Mr. afterwards Lord Somers, then at the outset of his illustrious career, gave an early specimen in their cause of that eloquence and powers of reasoning, which, combined with legal learning, were to raise him to the highest honours of his profession. The most lively sympathy was testified by the audience. Such a concourse of people had never been seen in England, and all distinctions of party were lost in one pervading sentiment of anxiety. Two of the judges addressed the jury for the prisoners, and two against them. The jury withdrew, and, whether for the purpose of deliberation, or to give greater effect and solemnity to their decision, remained enclosed all night; but when at nine in the morning, the foreman pronounced the verdict "Not Guilty," repeated acclama- Acquittal.
tions of joy succeeded to the silence of suspense. The shout, says Lord Clarendon, who was present, almost made the roof of the hall crack; nor was it confined to the hall and the adjoining places. It rolled in increasing peals through the city. It extended along the high roads, and was continued from village to village. At night the town was illuminated, and bonfires kindled in all the squares and great streets. Whatever disorders were committed in the tumult of popular joy, were deemed excusable, nor could jurymen be found to convict any offender.

The attack so directly and wantonly made on the whole church party in the persons of their prelates must have excited in their breasts the deepest resentment, and prepared them for the events which were approaching; yet this disposition would not have reached its maturity, the heads of the party would have delayed and temporised, and restrained their followers with hopes and expectations, had not an event taken place, a few weeks before the acquittal of the bishops, which irresistibly impelled all classes of men to decision and action. The Queen had not borne a child for many years, and it was confidently

CHAP. II. rumoured and piously believed by all good Protestants, that the state of her health would prevent her from ever being again a mother. With this hope the church party supported themselves. As they shrunk from the moment of resistance, they solaced their exasperated minds with the thought, that on the death of the King, which in the natural order of events could not be very distant, the succession would devolve on the Protestant heirs, the Prince and Princess of Orange. This prospect, which soothed them, produced on the other hand correspondent anguish and vexation in the breasts of the Catholics. They wearied heaven with prayers and supplications for a son. Vows were made,—pilgrimages undertaken. The Queen's mother, the Duchess of Modena, repaired to Loretto. At length the important event was announced;—the Queen was declared pregnant, and as the pregnancy pretty nearly coincided in point of time with the pilgrimage of the pious duchess, no doubt remained in the minds of devout Catholics, that it was the virgin of Loretto who had granted to them the long desired blessing. The Protestants were thrown into undescribable consternation. In the bitterness of their hearts, they denied, with vehemence, the fact of the pregnancy; and when the Queen's delivery was announced, stedfastly maintained the child was supposititious, introduced into the bed in a warming pan. Burnet has assembled the varying rumours of the day, and has framed out of them a pretty incoherent rhapsody. As far as we can see through the confusion of his narrative, the Queen never was with child, and yet was delivered of a child that died. More than one supposititious child was in question. It may now, however, be affirmed as indisputable history, that on the 10th of June, 1688, the Queen was delivered of a son, who, in the regular course of events, would have been entitled to the name and honours of Prince of Wales. The fable of the warming pan, notwithstanding, spread with inconceivable rapidity all over England. It had that character of absurd mystery which particularly qualified it to work on popular credulity, and

1688.

Birth of a
Prince of
Wales.

where the wishes of men were so decided and vehement, CHAP. II.
no wonder it was generally believed. It assisted in com-
posing the scruples of the church party, and reconciling
them to the necessity of the times. In this point of view,
it operated as one of the causes of the glorious Revolu-
tion; and certainly if what has been termed a *pious lie*
could ever be admitted by the moralist, this fiction might
be thought deserving of indulgence, since it had its share
in producing the most flourishing commonwealth the
world ever exhibited. To it, perhaps, in a great degree,
these three confederate nations are indebted for the
unrivalled portion of liberty and happiness which they
enjoy.

1688.

The birth of James's son might have been introduced
by the satirist among the events which exemplify the
vanity of human wishes. What had been the object of
so many impatient wishes and fervent prayers, what he
had looked forward to as the crown and completion of his
prosperity, proved the immediate cause of his downfall.

Parties in
the nation.

Whatever were the dispositions of some sanguine
Whigs, he was secure on his throne; nothing effectual
could be accomplished in the way of national deliverance,
as long as the church party remained tranquil and passive,
as long as they betrayed no indication, that if some bold
stroke was attempted by men of more vigorous tempers
and generous principles, their concurrence, their acquies-
cence at least would follow.

They were by the event of the birth of a son compelled,
driven to such indications as proved a sufficient ground
work for the design. Their discontents they had hitherto
in a great degree repressed. If they were ever hurried by
the measures of the court into a thought of resistance, they
found themselves inextricably shackled by the tenets they
had so often and so loudly professed. How were *they* to
rise against the government who had been accustomed to
celebrate with fond complacency the sacred character and
divine authority of kings, the obligation of passive and

Church
party.

CHAP. II. unlimited obedience, the unlawfulness of resistance in any case whatsoever?

1688.

They were a good deal awed too by the immense power with which, in their intoxication of loyalty, they had unwittingly armed the King. Impelled, however, by their passions, they gradually forgot their scruples;—their former tenets were explained away. They were not unprovided with casuists to soothe and amuse the consciences of the more delicate and fastidious with the long train of distinctions and excepted cases. The timid gathered courage, and nothing was wanting but the example of men of more active and stirring dispositions to determine their conduct.

Dissenters.

Causes which it is not my province to explain, had long established an intimate connection between the religious principles of the Presbyterians, and in general of the several bodies of Dissenters, and the doctrines of civil liberty. It has been seen that the King had early in life perceived this connection, and in the spirit of men of his political views and temper, hated and persecuted them as downright republicans. When, therefore, he with an awkward hypocrisy soothed and caressed them, and declared himself favourable to them, the stratagem was too clumsy to have long any effect. Their short lived, if not concurrence at least connivance, appears, however, to have alarmed some of the friends of liberty at the time. Among others Lord Halifax, and Burnet the historian, thought it necessary to exhort them in a variety of popular tracts. It did not require much eloquence to convince them nothing was further from the King's thoughts and intentions, than any degree of favour or encouragement to them. How far he was sincere in the wish he professed of toleration for all sects and religions, was evident by his proceedings in Ireland and Scotland; and if he had not gone so far in England, not the ardour of his zeal, but the adequacy of his means, might be doubted, which his excessive zeal was likely soon to overlook as a mean and worldly consi-

deration. In pursuance of their reflections on the whole CHAP. II.
conduct of the King, the Presbyterians, and in general the
Dissenters, quickly came forward, and with a generous
devotion forgot their particular grievances in the common
cause of their country. They were eager to allure the
more timid and backward episcopalians to a coalition
with them in support of their common religion and
liberties, by shewing they forgave them the multiplied
oppressions they had suffered from them. When the
bishops were imprisoned, ten dissenting ministers waited
upon them with the strongest expressions of thanks and
condolence; and when sent for and reprimanded by the
King, answered with one voice, they could not but adhere
to men who had been so constant and firm to the Protes-
tant religion*. It is impossible to read this circumstance,
recorded by an enemy of the Dissenters, without being
induced to allow them the palm in the contest of generous
feelings with the church party.

1688.

With the Dissenters were, if not absolutely in religious, Whigs.
at least in political, alliance all the remains of the old Whig
party.—The Whigs were not very considerable in number
in the nation, but many of them were of splendid rank
and fortune, and some of distinguished abilities. These
wanted no persuasion to engage with ardour in the cause
of liberty, and resist a Prince whom they had been zealous
to exclude from the throne. All his measures, from his
accession, as well in civil as religious matters, they had
contemplated with detestation and sorrow; and while an
infatuated multitude allowed themselves to sink into a
stupid indifference about their civil rights and privileges,
and looked only to have their little passions humoured in
what concerned religion, these generous spirits, in sullen
silence and contemptuous retirement, meditated on those
eternal principles which are the foundation of all that is
great and glorious in the societies of men, and prepared
themselves for any events, which, under a benign provi-

* Reresby, p. 260.

CHAP. II. dence, might work out the deliverance of their thoughtless country.

Leading
men in the
Revolu-
tion.

Lord
Halifax.

Among the men of all parties, whom various motives united in one great design, a few deserve to be particularly noticed. The most eminent, not indeed by forward zeal, but by the reputation of talents, the place he had occupied in the King's councils, and the part he afterwards acted, was the Marquis of Halifax. His principles in Government, it has been observed, were those of the Whigs. His fine understanding naturally opened itself to opinions of a liberal and generous cast; but his character was very remote from the warmth, vigour, and decision, which generally accompany such opinions. From the time he had been dismissed from the administration, he was known to harbour no small dislike of the Government. Had there been a parliament sitting, his great parliamentary abilities would have rendered him a direct and powerful opponent. During the very short session, he distinguished himself by an eloquent support of the Bishop of London's motion. But when the senate was closed, his talents, which were no wise fitted for action or enterprise, found little employment. He vented his spleen in occasional sneers and witticisms, and rather animated and encouraged the opposition of others, than took any very decided part himself. When the French Protestants were threatened with expulsion from their church in the Savoy, "Let the priests turn you out," said he; "for you will sooner do your own business and the nation's." This saying is the clue to his timid and ambiguous politics. Agreeably to the refinement and subtilty of his character, his favourite maxim, which he was constantly inculcating, was, that it was better to let things proceed in their course, and not hurry them to a precipitate explosion*. While in this clandestine and circuitous way he was labouring at the overthrow of the Government, or pleasing himself at least with the prospect of its

* See his letters to the Prince of Orange, in Dal. App.

downfall, according to James's subsequent representation* CHAP. II.

he was making secret overtures to him, and hazarding
dark professions of his willingness to support him in half
his views. That this representation of James is correct,
appears by what his friend, Sir John Reresby, relates of his
discourses, which perfectly accord with it†. Indeed, the
picture which Sir John draws of him, is that of a consum-
mate political poltroon, and Sir John appears to have been
in his confidence. Fears for his personal safety were per-
petually crossing and thwarting his resolutions. He never
advanced without trembling, and a wish to draw back.
Resentment at the coldness with which the King listened
to his offers of service, inspired him with a little courage.
He employed his pen to admonish the Dissenters of the
delusion attempted to be practised upon them, and was a
party to some of the proceedings which immediately pre-
ceded the Revolution; but, as the crisis approached, he
relapsed into much of his former reserve and circumspec-
tion.—When the Revolution had begun, he accelerated
its progress in a manner the most vigorous and decisive,
and was mainly instrumental in securing its first triumph.
Yet his vigour and decision so put forth, were not without
many intervals of suspense, many uneasy doubts and
anxious fears‡.—We shall have occasion to notice this
change in his character. The general knowledge of his
character prevented the zealous and animated promoters of
the Revolution from trusting him with their entire secret.
After sounding him at a distance, they did not think proper
to admit him further into their confidence. Yet he may
be reckoned as one of the early friends of the great cause.

His rival in ambition, with a character scarcely less
timorous and irresolute, was Lord Danby. He differed
from him in the complexion of his principles of govern-
ment, which were entirely on the Tory side. He had
filled the important office of high treasurer in the last

1688.

Lord
Danby.

* M'Pherson, p. 149.

† P. 261.

‡ Reresby.

CHAP. II. reign; but, since the accession of James, had lived in seclusion and retirement. He surveyed the measures of the court with decided disapprobation, but was restrained by his habits of caution from manifesting what he felt. He however warmed as the work advanced, and was among the first to appear in arms against the Government in the north of England, where his property and interest chiefly lay. Like Lord Halifax, he again gave way to doubts, and fears, and anxiety, even after the seemingly complete triumph of the cause he had, at so early a period, and when the hazard was so great, espoused*.

Bishop of London. The Bishop of London, of a noble family, brother of the Earl of Northampton, had signalized himself in a manner not usual with prelates, particularly of that day, by leading in a direct and decided tone the opposition to the court in parliament. He bore the state of national thralldom not with prelatical patience and phlegm.

But it was from among the determined Whigs that the flame of patriotism broke out, as might be expected, with the most intense ardour and the liveliest blaze. They were the earliest in the field, the most decided in their resolution, and the most animated in their endeavours.

Lord Shrewsbury. Lord Shrewsbury had in early life been a Catholic. Unallured by the smiles, and unawed by the frowns of the court, he shook off the opinions of his education and youth, and adopted the religion of his country. With the same spirit he threw himself entirely into the Whig principles of politics. He brought with him the splendor of a noble lineage, the rank of one of the first peers of England, a high sense of honour, and a sound, correct understanding.

Lord Lumley. Lord Lumley had, like Lord Shrewsbury, been a Catholic; like him, he abandoned the religious belief of his early years, and embraced the same generous scheme of politics.

Lord Mordaunt. Lord Mordanto the celebrated Mordanto of Swift, was

* Reresby.

urged by his romantic temper, his chivalrous valour and impetuous spirit, to any enterprise of great daring, and where much glory was to be acquired. CHAP. II.
1688.

Lord Devonshire had been the bosom friend of Lord Russell. He had loved him in life, supported him amidst the horrors of a public death, and wept over his untimely grave. The friendship which had warmed his heart, and the tears which he had shed, had prepared him for any great occasion of deliverance. Lord Devonshire.

Admiral Russell, a near kinsman of the deceased Lord, seemed consecrated, by the blood which flowed in his veins, to the illustrious service. Admiral Russell.

Sydney, brother of Algernon, was excited to emulate the patriot fame of his brother. Sydney.

The Earl of Manchester, and the Marquis of Winchester, lent the assistance of their high rank and fortunes. Earl of Manchester and the Marquis of Winchester

Among the professed Tories and leaders of the church party, none were zealous or forward; many were not unwilling. Lords Rochester and Clarendon, notwithstanding their family connection with the King, nourished deep displeasure, both on account of the injuries inflicted personally on themselves, and the violent attacks made on the interests of that religion of which they considered themselves the champions, and on that party which consulted and revered them as their leaders. When James, influenced by zeal for his own religion, dismissed them from all share in his councils, he at the same time from motives of family attachment, or perhaps to secure their neutrality, if he could not obtain their concurrence in his measures, conferred a handsome pension upon each of them. But the injury was remembered, and the favour forgotten. They both entered into a correspondence with the Prince of Orange; and there are letters from them as late as the middle of this year, which, though only letters of civility and compliment, yet, from the warmth of the professions and offers of service they contain, may be conjectured not to have been written without some gene-

CHAP. II. ral apprehension of the design then in agitation*. Certain
 1688. it is, most of the high Tories, and these noblemen in particular, in proportion as their fears for their personal safety subsided, found convenient distinctions either in law or theology by which their scruples were appeased; and they were reconciled to insurrection and resistance just in the degree and in the manner which appeared to them best suited to their interests.

Lord Nottingham.

Another of these was Lord Nottingham. If, as he afterwards declared in parliament, he had never *in the least* consented to the Revolution†, his conduct, when the event had taken place, sufficiently proved that he was more indebted for his boasted consistency in his Tory tenets, to his pusillanimity, than to any delicacy of conscience.—We are told that he actually approved of the design which was communicated to him, but afterwards pretended scruples under the guidance of his fears. Lord Cutts, one of the officers in the army who favoured the Revolution, seeing him go to court after he was in possession of the secret, though he had not gone there for a long time before, and knowing his tergiversation, proposed, it is said, to dispatch him, but was dissuaded by Lord Danby, who observed, “Lord Nottingham is the only man in England who can appear at court, and yet not discover the concern he is under.”

This anecdote of Lord Cutts may be doubted. Private assassination in political contests may be agreeable enough to the manners of other countries, but has scarcely ever stained our history. If the relation be true, we may rejoice that such a circumstance did not accompany the purest of revolutions. The presence of mind attributed to Lord Nottingham is singular, considering the timidity of his character.

Admiral Herbert.

Admiral Herbert, a naval man, not known to have belonged specially to any party, appears among the fore-

* Dal. App.

† Reresby, p. 326. See a letter from him to the Prince, dated July 27, 1688. in Dal. App.

most in promoting the Revolution. He was stung by personal resentment at the loss of emolument, and betrayed in his whole carriage, full of sullenness and spleen, which it was difficult to soothe into concurrence and co-operation, the meanness of the motive which stimulated him.

CHAP. II.
1688.

The band of patriots who concurred in bringing about this signal event, the principal of whom have been enumerated, would, in any other conjuncture of affairs, have found themselves arrested by a great and almost insuperable difficulty. The country presented no internal means of liberation; and they were too well instructed in their duty as citizens and Englishmen, to invoke or admit the interposition of a power, in the strictness of words, foreign. But Heaven, in mercy to these favoured islands, had raised up a man, who, though by birth a foreigner, and at the head of a foreign state, was by connection and alliance an *English* prince, and had many a national and domestic title to interpose in the affairs of the nation. His circumstances were so nicely adjusted by a directing and superintending Providence, that he had the means of employing a large foreign force, without breaking in on the system of national freedom and independence. This man was William of Orange and Nassau, hereditary stadtholder of Holland. To this quarter of the political horizon was every eye directed;—on William was the eager gaze of men fixed and rivetted.

Never existed a man so qualified by nature and fortune for a great and beneficial enterprise. By birth he was of a—*liberatorum* genus—a family of deliverers. He received his first lessons in the school of adversity. He was born when his family had sunk beneath an adverse faction in his country, and, instead of enjoying that situation of dignity and command to which his birth had designed him, he saw himself in a private state, in some measure depending on his enemies. But his public enemies were his private friends. The head of them, Pensionary de Witt, was a virtuous man, and he was educated under his personal inspection. From him, his calm, sober, reflect-

The Prince
of Orange.

CHAP. II. ing understanding derived those comprehensive views of
 1688. the state of Europe, and the interests of its component parts which guided his conduct in a maturer age. Called upon to defend, to save the commonwealth, which the valour of his ancestors had founded, against the unprincipled invasion of the French in the year 1672, he displayed presence of mind, courage, and firmness, not inadequate to the arduous duty which had devolved upon him. A saying of his, amidst the difficulties which encompassed him on every side, is one of the noblest and most heroic recorded in history. Being asked whether he did not see that his country was ruined—"There is one certain way," replied he, "of never seeing the ruin of my country,—I will die in its last dyke." His title of an *English* prince, which could alone enable him to interpose effectually and with perfect safety to England, arose from circumstances so extraordinary, that the historian is not afraid of the imputation of superstition in representing them as combined by the special interposition of Providence, for the purposes of mercy.

Married to
the Prin-
cess Mary
of Eng-
land.

It was on the 23rd of October, 1677, that for the salvation of the British empire, and the good fortune of the whole European world, William was married to the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of James Duke of York, afterwards James II. King Charles, it is well known, was, during almost the whole of his reign, in subserviency to the French court. In the beginning of this very year, Courtin, French envoy, wrote to his master,—“I can answer for it to your Majesty, that there are none of your own subjects who wish you better success in all your undertakings than these two princes*,” meaning the King and his brother James. Charles had recently concluded a secret treaty with France, and obtained a regular pension in reward for his devotion to the interests of that kingdom. An extraordinary revolution, just at that precise period, took place in his views and counsels—an

* Dal. App.

interval, the only one in his reign, in which his French politics were suspended, as if for the express purpose of admitting the Prince of Orange. For it is well known—grateful posterity will never forget it—the Prince was through life the persevering and indefatigable enemy of French ambition. Another circumstance, equally striking, signalized his introduction into the royal family of England. Charles had always a leaning in favour of the Catholic religion, and James was a decided Catholic, and even a bigot in the Catholic faith.—The Prince was the professed champion of the *Protestant* religion, the man to whom the eyes of all the Protestants in Europe were turned, whenever the interests of their religion were concerned. Yet was Charles himself the author of the marriage; and James, with much reluctance indeed, yet in obedience to the commands of the King his brother, sanctioned it with his consent. What Englishman is there who will not raise his eyes to Heaven, and acknowledge with reverential gratitude, in an event accomplished against every human hope and expectation, its benign interposition?—Such was the mysterious order of things, that England, perhaps the civilized world, was lost for ever, if every obstacle had not been vanquished, and William had not been united in marriage to the Princess Mary.

From the period of his espousals, he surveyed the affairs of England with that interest which might have been expected from the proximity of his consort to the throne.—Yet he never declared himself amidst the contests of parties. When the measure of the *exclusion* was in agitation, though it was evidently the intention of the greater number who were struggling for it, to place the Princess on the throne, should they succeed in setting aside her father, not an expression escaped him betraying his wishes or hopes upon the subject. The whole of his profound and capacious mind was employed in preparing and marshalling resistance to France, in gathering up the scattered elements of European strength into such a force as might

CHAP. II.

1688.

CHAP. II. be effectual for the purpose. On the accession of James, though every appearance indicated the whole genius and spirit of his government would be in direct opposition to all his views and projects, he took no measures to disturb it or thwart it in its progress. He is accused by James himself* of encouraging the enterprise of Monmouth; but the accusation resolves itself into an idle story that Bentinck, the Prince's envoy in England, was never quiet till Monmouth's head was off.—

1688.

D'Avaux, the French ambassador in Holland, recites in his dispatches a number of petty attentions paid by the Prince and Princess to Monmouth, while resident at the Hague, immediately before his invasion of England; and from these he infers their knowledge of his design, and the countenance which they afforded to it. It is not easy to question the veracity of so grave and dignified a personage; yet, certainly his narrative is extremely ridiculous, and his anecdotes are quite inconsistent with the known character of the Prince, and his conduct in other parts of life. Many indisputable facts, and every reasoning on the probability of the thing, lead to the conclusion that he was either ignorant of what Monmouth had in agitation, or was shackled by the forms of the Dutch Government from interfering directly before Monmouth had left the shores of Holland, and while his object might be construed as doubtful. It is certain, that after Monmouth's landing the King constantly corresponded with him, and communicated to him every event and detail, as to a friend and well-wisher. The Prince, in compliance with the King's desire, sent over several Scotch and English regiments in the service of the Dutch Government; and though the King thought proper to decline his offer to come and command them in person, yet he did it in the kindest terms, and warmly thanked him for his promptitude in sending the regiments, and the excellent military condition in which they arrived†. During the progress of James's

* M'Pherson, p. 147.

† Dal. App.

rash and arbitrary measures, many of the discontented sought refuge in Holland; and it is probable messages were conveyed to the Prince, imploring relief. All who were desirous of a change had their expectations intent upon him; but he, with his characteristic taciturnity and phlegm, avoided any expression of his sentiments. The first direct proof we have of his interference, was when James himself compelled him to break silence. Not being able to obtain the sanction of parliament to his proceedings, James bethought himself of procuring what, in the opinion of the nation, might be deemed a substitute. Knowing the respect universally entertained for the Prince and Princess of Orange, and the fond deference with which their opinions were regarded, a declaration from them agreeable to his wishes, would, he concluded, assume this character; and he flattered himself with the hope of obtaining it. He had heard that toleration in Holland extended to the admission of persons of all religions to all places of trust and power under the Government without distinction. On this foundation he resolved to make his application.

CHAP. II.

1688.

The same Stuart who has been mentioned as secretary to Lord Melfort in Scotland, and who had penned the obnoxious declaration in that kingdom, was instructed to write upon the subject to Pensionary Fagel, with whom he had been acquainted whilst abroad.—Fagel was known to be in the confidence of the Prince and Princess. He made no answer till after repeated letters from Stuart.—At last he wrote at considerable length, declaring the sentiments he conveyed to be those of his master. His letter turned on a distinction with which the most decided writers in favour of toleration were formerly satisfied, but which does not seem in these times to be admitted. All penal laws, all laws by which persons of any belief were disturbed in the enjoyment of their particular tenets, or made liable to any sort or degree of punishment, he consented should be repealed; but he maintained that in Holland, as in other countries of Europe, tests were

Applica-
tion to him
from
James.

CHAP. II. imposed, by which those who did not profess the religion
1688. of the state were excluded from any share in the public
authority, and to the abolition of such tests he could not
agree; that is, he refused his consent to the repeal of the
test acts, which was the object of James's application.
Fagel's letter was printed and dispersed over the kingdom.
All parties looked to William as to a protector and saviour.
—Having delivered his opinion on the great matter at
issue between the people and the Government, William
found himself more deeply engaged in the contest, and
fell into a closer connection with the opponents of the
court. Dykvelt was sent over as envoy to James; Zuy-
lestein followed him on occasion of the death of the
Duchess of Modena, the Queen's mother, with a message
of condolence and compliment. Both these envoys, men
of considerable sagacity and address, and who were not
unacquainted with the state of England, received instruc-
tions to communicate with the principal men of all parties,
to sound them as to their determinations, to confirm them
by suitable exhortations and promises in any notions of
opposition and resistance which they might have con-
ceived. They, on their return, brought letters from men
of all parties, not excepting some of the most distinguished
Tories, such as Lord Rochester, Lord Clarendon, and
Lord Nottingham.—The style of these letters was cautious
and distant. They contained general assurances of
attachment, but nothing precise and determinate on the
state of politics. No distinct invitation could be gathered
out of them which could encourage the Prince to a decided
course of conduct. Strong shades of difference could be
discovered among them. The Whigs were more open
and explicit, and these rose in their degree of zeal and
frankness. But while this obscurity covered the whole of
the correspondence, the Prince was not satisfied.—He
must satisfy both his honour and his conscience, would he
often say in confidential discourse, before he took arms
against a sovereign so nearly connected with him by the
ties of blood,—the father of his wife. He protested no

motive of private ambition or resentment could prevail with him in such a case. He expected, therefore, *formal and direct* invitations*. CHAP. II.
1688.

The group of shrewd sneering politicians will give little credit to these declarations, yet I am convinced the great man who uttered them, spoke with entire sincerity and truth, and the tender sentiments of nature, breaking out amidst the stern war of politics, will be caught with eagerness by the true English reader. They indeed diffuse a mild light over this interesting period of our annals, and exhibit liberty, not with the haggard features of one of the Furies, as it has pleased some late writers among us to paint her, but with a countenance full of softness and benignity, as becomes the sister of the graceful domestic virtues. We discern these domestic ties entwining themselves round public men,—the Russells, the Cavendishes, and other illustrious families, no less united by private friendship, than by a similarity of political views and opinions. This is a charm peculiar to English history, and is one of the effects of the distribution of the nation into parties. We know, therefore, what value to set on those noisy declamations with which we have been stunned, railing at the notion of *party*, and celebrating a sort of insulated public virtue, which affects to lift itself above the endearing connections of private life, which is all harsh, abrupt, and *decisive*. Far be these sentiments from the minds of my countrymen. This is not *English* public virtue ;—this is *not* the style of those great masters who sketched the Revolution of 1688.

This revolution was advancing with an accelerated pace. —The *formal* and direct invitations William expected arrived. After the trial of the bishops, Zuylestein was dispatched a second time to England under pretence of congratulating the King on the birth of a Prince of Wales, and he found every thing ripe for an immediate insurrection. Notwithstanding the event of the bishops'

* Burnet, v. i. p. 420.

CHAP. II. trial, and the decided sense of the country manifested
 1688. upon it, the King could not be induced to intermit or
 abate any thing in his zealous proceedings. He seemed
 to glory in the difficulties which multiplied upon him,
 and derive fresh animation from the obstacles which
 arose in his progress. A letter which was made public as
 if written by the jesuits of Liege to their brethren in
 Switzerland, whether genuine or not*, painted the genius
 of his government to the life. According to the expres-
 sions of the letter attributed to the King himself, "He
 would either convert England or die a martyr." At the
 baptism of his son, he had not hesitated to appoint the
 Pope one of the god-fathers. He persevered in insisting
 on having his declaration of indulgence read in the
 churches;—and as the bishops had refused to exert their
 authority, he sent citations to the chancellors and arch-
 deacons of the several dioceses requiring them to transmit
 lists to the court of ecclesiastical commissioners, of all the
 clergy within their jurisdictions who had obeyed or dis-
 obeyed the order to read the declaration. Many of
 these, in the contemplation of the revolution which
 was approaching, ventured to disobey the citations,
 and the ecclesiastical commissioners themselves were
 observed to withdraw from the commission. Among the
 seceders, the one most particularly noticed, and whose
 withdrawing was regarded as an infallible presage, was the
 Bishop of Rochester, who had hitherto been eminently
 conspicuous in supporting the measures of the court.

* Burnet sturdily maintains the genuineness of this letter, and relates anecdotes in support of his assertion, which, if true, would establish it; and the falsehood of them must destroy his character for veracity. If any credit were attached to the letter in question, it certainly would confirm in the most decisive manner the representation in this history as opposed to the notions of Mr. Fox. The letter may be seen in the collection of Lord Somers's Tracts, with however an advertisement prefixed to it, which plainly intimates, that in the opinion of the publisher, it was a forgery. The little weight which the authority of Burnet is thought to carry, wherever the reverend zealot had some favourite point of religious or historical controversy to establish, precluded any great reliance to be placed on this document, and Mr. Fox has been combated on other grounds.

Before the arrival of Zuylestein, the more zealous and CHAP. II.
determined of the partisans of the Revolution had already
come to a final resolution. On the 30th of June, the 1688.
following immortal seven assembled in close conference at Association
the house of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and signed with seven.
their names in cyphers the form of an association to be
forwarded to the Prince:—Lords Shrewsbury, Devonshire,
Danby, Lumley, the Bishop of London, Mr. Russell, and
Mr. Sydney. This instrument requested him without
reserve, to come over with an army for the deliverance of
the country, and fixed on the present year as the proper
period for the invasion. “Besides all this, we do much
doubt whether this present state of things will not yet be
much changed to the worse before another year, by a
great alteration which will probably be made both in
the officers and soldiers of the army, and by such other
changes as are not only to be expected from a packed
parliament, but what the meeting of parliament (in our
present circumstances) may produce against those who
will be looked upon as principal obstructors of their pro-
ceedings there*.” Zuylestein, after remaining some weeks
in England, the better to conceal the real purpose of his
journey, and the important information with which he
was furnished, carried back with him the wishes of the illus-
trious associators thus formally announced. He was able
too, to certify that they were in unison with those of the
great body of the nation. The proceedings of the King had
impelled to a decision the most wavering and hesitating.

The Prince of Wales had been prayed for in the Prince's
chapel at the Hague, and, as we have seen, Zuylestein
sent to England with compliments on his birth. The
first information the world received, that William's dark
and silent meditations would soon disclose themselves in
some signal event, was an order for the discontinuance
of these prayers. The association had remonstrated,
that the praying for the young Prince was an implied

* Dal. App.

CHAP. II. 1688. acknowledgment of his legitimacy, and that "the false imposing of him upon the Princess of Orange, and the nation, should be one of the chief causes upon which the declaration of William's entering the kingdom in an hostile manner should be founded." Admiral Herbert, who had passed over to Holland in the beginning of July, and was supposed to be well acquainted with the state of the public feeling in England, supported this representation by his advice. Hence the order for the discontinuance. But as there was nothing which the associators had more anxiously recommended, than to avoid all appearances which might give the alarm to the court of England, on Abbeville's, the King's ambassador at the Hague, testifying his surprise, the prayers were resumed, and the King was assured in a letter, dated the 17th of August, and signed "your Majesty's most obedient daughter and servant, Marie," that they had never been properly discontinued, but "only sometimes forgot." Readers, according to the variety of their moral tastes will differ, whether even the important occasion of a revolution, pregnant with liberty and happiness to a whole nation, strictly justified in a daughter so signal a deviation from sincerity and truth, as well as filial obedience.

An enterprise so considerable required extensive naval and military preparations, besides many diplomatic arrangements. The forms too of the Dutch government were little favourable to secrecy, and the associators had expressed no small anxiety on both these heads. Nothing was omitted to satisfy and appease this anxiety. The secret of the enterprise was confided only to a few chosen ministers, and every circumstance studiously taken advantage of which might serve to preserve this secret, and give a wrong direction to inquiry.

The first object of William was to leave his native country perfectly secure and protected in his absence. He was often heard to declare, with that earnestness and warmth which accompanied his words whenever he broke through his habitual taciturnity—"that he never would

give occasion to any of his enemies to say he had carried away the best force of the states, and left them defenceless*." The only power whose aggressions he had to apprehend was France. The French monarch, it was well known, was in the closest religious alliance with James, and took a personal interest in the success of his religious projects. The moment William had embarked with his troops, he would attack the Dutch frontier, lay siege to some principal town, and thereby create the most important diversion in favour of the King of England. Had the Prince not been able to establish a sufficient security against such an inroad, he must, agitated as he was with anxiety for his native country, have abandoned the thoughts of the deliverance of England altogether. Fortunately, the conduct of the French monarch himself mainly contributed to supply him with the means. The ambition of Lewis knew no bounds: but still more vain-glorious than ambitious, he was not content with establishing his greatness and extending his power, but he sought every opportunity of mortifying the pride, and insulting the feelings of those he injured, and provoked as much resentment by the *manner* in which he pursued his objects, as by the objects themselves. One barefaced usurpation succeeded the other. He erected courts in his own dominions, composed entirely of his own subjects, and under the authority of their suborned decisions seized upon the possessions of several German princes, and even of the king of Spain. The latter he took another opportunity of despoiling, and still more grievously exasperating. He invaded his dominions in Flanders, and taking possession of *some* considerable towns, insisted, with all the undisguised insolence of one whose power set him above regard to opinion, that they belonged to him under the late treaty of Nimeguen, but had been forgotten to be mentioned. He was at this time labouring to establish a creature of his, the Cardinal of Furstenberg, in the elec-

CHAP. II.

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CHAP. II. torate of Cologne; and on the Pope's refusing his sanction
 ————— to his nomination, treated his authority with sovereign
 1688. contempt, and filled the whole electorate with his garrisons. Proceedings so violent and outrageous, united the principal states in Europe against him. The Princes of the Empire, with the Emperor at their head, were the first to coalesce. Holland, and the greatest part of Italy, acceded to the coalition, and a general treaty of confederacy was concluded, called the League of Augsburgh. This league was a powerful barrier to the views of France, which the Prince of Orange left behind him. The Dutch government being a party to it, necessarily made preparations which masked the English expedition. The movements of the French troops in Flanders and the electorate of Cologne, pointed the public attention to the state of the fortified towns on that side, and the Prince for the purpose of increasing and repairing the fortifications obtained large grants of money from the states, and borrowed more from individuals, a great part of which he was able to employ in fitting out his secret armament. Arms and accoutrements of all kinds, as well for the troops that should embark with him as for the multitudes he might have to supply on his landing, were purchased with due diligence. Some difficulty arose as to the number of men, the strength of the army he was to take with him on his intended expedition. The Prince's friends and partisans in England would have limited him to a very inconsiderable force. They represented, that coming at the head of a large army, he would exhibit himself to the imaginations of the people of England in the light of a foreign conqueror, instead of a deliverer,—that he ought to trust chiefly to their exertions for support. The contrary have the effect of arming multitudes against him; whereas, contemplating him in the light of an associate only with their own efforts, they would flock eagerly to his standard. Any troops the King might assemble, there was reason to believe would desert to him*.

* Burnet.

The excellent men who urged these representations CHAP. II.
were, no doubt, actuated by the feelings and views of
patriot Englishmen. Driven as they were to the melan- 1688.
choly necessity of admitting the interposition of a foreign
force, they were anxious to avert the suspicion of con-
quest. They wished the revolution they meditated to be
accomplished, as far as possible, by internal and domestic
means. After having overthrown the government they
could not endure, they were desirous of appearing in the
eyes of the world masters of their deliberations, so that
the government they should substitute might not be
deemed to have been *imposed* upon them. On the other
hand, it is not wonderful these arguments did not persuade
the Prince. He was not satisfied to rely implicitly on the
contingency of desertion among the King's troops, or the
fluctuations of popular caprice. He was resolved to come
attended in such a manner as should secure him in all
events. He accordingly exerted himself to augment the
number of his forces. By his own authority he enlisted
seven thousand men. As the ambition of the French
monarch assisted him in masking and concealing his
design, so the measures to which the same monarch had
been impelled by his ungovernable bigotry and fanaticism,
and the character they had stamped upon him, contributed
in no small degree to forward his preparations, and
accelerate his supplies. The Prince had obtained a credit
of four millions of gilders, which were to be paid in to him
in four years. The zeal of the refugees, who had fled from
France into Holland at the revocation of the edict of
Nantz, enabled him to procure the money in as many
days. They poured the treasures they had brought with
them into his coffers with alacrity, and even eagerness.
They served him too materially by their clamours against
the government which had persecuted them. Spreading
themselves through the whole extent of the European
world, they every where kindled a popular and fanatical
hatred against France. Valuable recruits, both of officers
and men, flocked to the Prince even from the extremities

CHAP. II. of Switzerland and Germany. The sectaries of all descriptions were seized with the contagion of zeal in support of
1688. his enterprise. Their preachers and ministers were perpetually celebrating and recommending it in their sermons and exhortations. Even the Jews were attracted by the words liberty and toleration. An anecdote is related of one of them:—A Jew of Amsterdam, of the name of Schwartzaw, brought to him one day a sum equivalent to a hundred thousand pounds, British. “If,” says the generous Jew, “you succeed, my money, I know, is safe. If you fail, the loss of what I present you with is not what I shall most regret.”

The English patriots who had displayed so much anxiety to limit the number of soldiers the Prince should bring with him to England had, at the same time, recommended to him a large naval force which should protect him in his passage, and could inspire the people of England with no terror or alarm. The Prince omitted no measure for this purpose. He persuaded the States to equip forty ships of war, and secretly added twelve more himself. The pretence for this extraordinary armament was the war in which the Dutch were engaged with the Algerines, and the rumour industriously propagated was, that a great blow was to be struck, and signal punishment inflicted on the pirates.

To provide for his great object, which was the security of the States in his absence, it was necessary for the Prince to carry on an extensive system of negotiations, and draw over a number of potentates to his cause. He was more or less explicit as to his ultimate views and designs, according to the character and religious creed of the potentate he addressed. He ventured even to correspond with the Pope, and so far availed himself of the pontiff's vehement resentment against France, as to procure from him grants of money for the purposes of his expedition. Two very curious letters of Cardinal d'Etrées, French ambassador at Rome at this time, which Sir John Dalrymple discovered, and which are to be seen in his

Appendix, exhibit a striking picture of the various arts CHAP. II.
 employed by the contending negociators at the papal 1688.
 court to counteract each other's schemes. The audacity
 of the French diplomacy, even at this period, is conspi-
 cuous:—"Le Gut (a French spy in Rome) begged me to
 assure your Majesty, that if you will keep two of your
gallies at Civita Vecchia, he obliges himself, under
 penalty of losing his head, to carry off Cassoni (the Pope's
 secretary) from the midst of Rome, or from his chamber.
 He further said to me, that if he dared he would make
 the offer, Sire, which Mr. de Syonne formerly made of
 going to Rome to stab Don Mario, brother to Pope
 Alexander VII. &c. The offer respecting Cassoni may
 seem to lend a colour of probability to the opinion that
 the celebrated man with an iron mask, about whom so
 many conjectures have been hazarded, was the prime
 minister of the Duke of Mantua, carried off while a-hunt-
 ing, by orders of Louvois, the French minister, for having
 been an active agent in the conclusion of the League of
 Augsburgh*." The same extract affords an answer to the
 question, Why the life of the offending minister was
 spared? which is honourable to the memory of Lewis XIV.
 violent as was this King's ambition, it could not entirely
 silence the dictates of his humanity; he seems on every
 occasion to have revolted from private assassination and
 secret bloodshed.

It may be thought the Prince practised no small dissi-
 mulation with the Pope, when his object was the over-
 throw of the Catholic religion in England; yet the sove-
 reign pontiff might not have been entirely blind to his
 project, if it be true that under the dominion of his poli-
 tical passions, he listened with complacency to a proposal
 which had for its object the raising an insurrection among
 the Hugonots, and pretended converts, in France. A
 court little less Catholic than the Papal, the court of Ma-
 drid, went so far in opposition to its religious creed, as to

* Louis XIV. et sa Cour, vol. ii. p. 297.

CHAP. II. 1688. authorise its ambassador at the Hague, when the Prince had actually disclosed the object of all his preparations, and was ready to sail for the English shores, to order masses to be said publicly in his chapel for the success of the embarkation*. He found no difficulty, therefore, to persuade the Spanish governor of the Low Countries to draw all his forces to the side of the Dutch frontier, and act decidedly for its protection.

That other Catholic princes were not, however, so easily persuaded will appear by a letter, which the Prince found it necessary to write to the Emperor, while he carried on his preparations without discovering his ultimate views:—"I assure your imperial majesty by this letter, that whatever reports may have been spread, and notwithstanding those which may be spread for the future, I have not the least intention to do any hurt to His Britannic Majesty, or to those who have a right to pretend to the succession of his kingdom, and still less to make an attempt upon the crown, or to desire to appropriate it to myself†." The warmest of William's admirers will not attempt to screen this passage from all charge of insincerity; but it is not a supposition repugnant to the known course of human nature, that whatever objects were floating in his mind, and whatever hopes he might entertain from favourable events, he had not yet come to any settled resolution, or even what might strictly be called an intention, and he might write to the Emperor, as he did, without a consciousness of deceiving him. With the Protestant princes he could throw off much of his reserve, and he attracted some by an exposition of all the results not only which *would*, but *might* follow from his success. The Duke of Hanover had entered into some engagements with France, but these were precipitately broken off by the suggestion artfully offered to him by the Prince, that on the exclusion of the Catholic posterity of James I. from the throne of England, his consort, the Princess

* M'Pherson's Papers, vol. i. p. 301.

† Dal. App.

Sophia, grand-daughter of that monarch, and her issue, CHAP. II.
might at no very distant period ascend it. The Prince
had a personal interview with the Elector of Branden- 1688.
burgh, and in the course of his communication with him
was warmed into a disclosure of his views on the English
crown. He not only obtained troops from the Elector,
but permission for the veteran Marshal Schomberg, then
commanding in chief in Prussia, to enter into his service,
and become the leader of his expedition. He stipulated
with these and other Princes of the Empire, that the troops
he carried away from the Rhine, should be replaced by the
same number of German forces. He agreed with Sweden
for seven thousand men to be hired by the States.

His English partisans were one after the other passing
over to him. Lord Mordaunt was the first of the nobility
who joined his standard. He had repaired to Holland as
early as 1686, and even at that time was urgent for an
immediate invasion of England. On his return he abated
much of his warmth, and wrote a desponding letter ad-
vising caution and delay. This letter does not support
the character given to him by some of his literary contem-
poraries, who were, no doubt, vain of his notice on account
of his rank and fame in the world, and repaid him with
flattery. It is disjointed, confused, and ill written. When
the moment approached for drawing the sword, his ardour
revived, and he was not backward in exposing himself to
dangers. He was followed by Lord Shrewsbury and
Sydney. The former threw up his regiment in the King's
service, and mortgaging his estate for forty thousand
pounds, hastened with his money to Holland, resolving to
sacrifice all for the success of the design. The Marquis
of Winchester sent his eldest son. The old Earl of Bed-
ford had written by Dyckvelt, touching with tenderness on
his misfortune, and assuring the Prince of the zeal of
every branch of the Russell family in whatever his service
might require. As the deputy of the family Admiral
Russell joined the Prince in the month of September.
The secret had not transpired to James. The preparations

CHAP. II. going forward the whole summer in Holland, notwithstanding all the arts employed by the Prince to conceal them, and the pretences supplied by a happy coincidence of events, could not fail of being known to the English court, and to awaken some suspicion. Citters, the Dutch ambassador in London, was questioned concerning them; but he positively denied they had any reference to a design upon England, and this answer appears to have satisfied James.

Blindness
of James.

White,
Marquis of
Albeville.

Count
D'Avaux.

Sir Bevil
Skelton.

Budé de
Verace.

Many circumstances contributed to this extraordinary blindness, and served to confirm and prolong it, till the crisis was on the point of bursting upon him. He had sent as his envoy to the Hague an Irish Catholic who had whimsically transformed his original name of White into the title of Marquis of Albeville. This man was of the meanest abilities, needy and profligate withal. He received money alternately from the King of France and the Prince of Orange, and sold his master to them by turns. Whether from ignorance or treachery, probably from both, he transmitted such loose and contradictory accounts of the preparations in Holland as not a little assisted in keeping up the delusion which hung over the English monarch. Yet there were not wanting persons to admonish him of his danger. D'Avaux, the French ambassador, was of a very different character from White. He was a consummate negociator, distinguished among the statesmen of the time for his profound political knowledge and perspicacious sagacity. He was likewise remarkable for the large sums he expended in procuring intelligence, for the tribe of spies and emissaries of all descriptions he kept on foot. He had early information of the design of the Prince, and did not fail to communicate it to his court. James's ambassador at Paris, Sir Bevil Skelton, was, like White, poor and needy, and his poverty was little relieved by the penurious supplies sent to him from England. He was, however, faithful. As early as the 20th of August, he received a letter from one Budé de Verace, residing in Geneva.

This Verace had been captain of the guards in the Prince of Orange's service, and much trusted by his master. On occasion of some misconduct imputed to him he had been dismissed, and had carried his discontent and desire of revenge to Geneva. From thence he opened a correspondence with Skelton. The letter referred to is somewhat mysterious and obscure, but it evidently discloses a knowledge of the Prince's design, which the writer promises to communicate more explicitly in subsequent letters. It intimates, darkly indeed, an intention in Verace of repairing to England in person, and communicating the whole of his information to James himself. Père d'Orléans tells us, he proposed to Skelton, taking this step, and thereby satisfying the suspicions which he harboured.

CHAP. II.

1688.

These suspicions pointed to the Earl of Sunderland, still the minister in whom James reposed with entire confidence. It is here proper to assemble all the evidence which indicates this nobleman as from the commencement of this reign, treacherously exciting the King to the measures which terminated in his downfall, and when his downfall was approaching, intercepting from him the information that might have warned him of his danger, and going still further, corresponding with his enemies, and betraying to them the counsels with which he had been entrusted. The above constitute the different branches of the charge against his memory, and they merit a most serious discussion. Though more than a century has elapsed since Sunderland has mingled with the dust, and is removed beyond the reach of human judgments, yet there is a sanctity in the fame of public men which should not be violated, even at the most distant periods, but on the most cogent evidence, on irresistible proofs.

In pursuing the progress of events I have uniformly represented Sunderland as the prime mover of all James's Catholic measures, as the minister who possessed the secret of his religious projects. He early in life discovered an inclination to embrace the Catholic faith, and was re-

CHAP. II. guarded almost to the last period of James's government
— by the whole Catholic party as the warm and zealous sup-
1688. porter of their views and interests. In the same light
the great body of historians have placed the genius of
his administration, and the spirit of his various pro-
ceedings. It is, however, but justice to take notice of a
letter which he published soon after the Revolution, and
in which he strenuously denies most of the acts imputed
to him. This letter, consisting of about four pages, has
been called his *apology*; and never was the defence of a
life so obnoxious, to suspicion at least, comprised within
so narrow a compass. It is written in a manner which
impresses us with no very high opinion of his abilities,
which are however attested by the suffrage of all his con-
temporaries, even those who regarded his character with
detestation, and which seem proved by the amazing num-
ber of his contrivances, and the various shiftings of his
motley politics. The apology is beyond description
meagre in matter, and poor in style. It leads one to
attach much probability to the opinion of those who
regard what a man speaks or writes as the surest standard
of his intellectual value. In this there can be no juggle, no
imputed merit from the performances of others, of agents or
instruments employed. Fortune or chance can have no
participation; but in the bustle of action a great deal
is done by these several causes, and the share which any
particular mind had in the aggregate effect is easily mis-
taken. Sunderland positively affirms that all the measures
to befriend and promote the Catholic religion encoun-
tered his opposition;—that he opposed the dispensing
power assumed by the King immediately after the sup-
pression of Monmouth's rebellion, the proceedings against
Magdalen College, the project for abrogating the penal
laws and tests, even the erection of the court of eccle-
siastical commission. Adverting to the affairs of Ireland,
he asserts he had no connection with the appointment of
Lord Tyrconnell to the vice-regal government, that he had
no manner of influence with him, that it was by his means

the assembling of a parliament was prevented which CHAP. II.
would have rescinded the act of settlement, and that when
Nugent and Rice came over to England for the concur-
rence of the English cabinet in the measure, as has been
related, he was offered a bribe of forty thousand pounds
for his support of the measure, which he refused. The
apology concludes with such cant as this:—"I lie under
many other misfortunes and afflictions, extreme heavy,
but I hope they have brought me to reflect on the occa-
sion of them, the loose, negligent, unthinking life I have
hitherto led, having been perpetually turned away from
all good thoughts by pleasure, idleness, the vanity of the
court, or by business: I hope, I say, that I shall over-
come all the disorders my former life had brought upon
me, and that I shall spend the remaining part of it in
begging of Almighty God that he will please either put
an end to my sufferings, or give me strength to bear
them, one of which he will certainly grant to such as
relie on him, which I hope I do, with the submission that
becomes a good christian*." The only writer I am ac-
quainted with who in any degree supports the tenor of
this apology, is Bishop Burnet. He in several places
represents Sunderland as an enemy to the fanatical vio-
lence of the King's government, and as supporting mode-
rate counsels†. In opposition to the statements of the
apology, and the representation of Burnet, I shall not in-
sist upon what nearly all historians relate to us, that he
actually wrote all the letters and orders transmitted by
the court to Magdalen College in the course of the con-
test; that with respect to Ireland, the appointment of
Lord Tyrconnell proceeded immediately from his advice
procured by the stipulation that he should enjoy £5000
a-year out of the lord-lieutenant's salary. It may be
said, that the loose assertions of perhaps uninformed
writers should not decide in a grave discussion respecting

1688.

* See Earl of Sunderland's Letter to a friend in the country, &c. &c.
licensed and entered March 23, 1689.

† Vol. i. p. 415.

CHAP. II. personal character. One fact however is indisputable,
 ——— that he was a member of the court of ecclesiastical com-
 1688. mission. It can hardly be supposed he was an enemy in
 the cabinet to a commission in which he consented to
 have his name enrolled, and in which he publicly acted.
 The Princess Anne was in a situation to observe all the
 persons composing her father's government and court,
 and must have been particularly vigilant as to the mea-
 sures carried on for the promotion of the Catholic reli-
 gion. We have many of her letters written in intimate
 confidence to her sister, the Princess of Orange*, in the
 years 1687, 1688. In one of these she writes, "As for
 the first of them (Lord Sunderland), by all outward ap-
 pearance, he must be a great knave; for he goes on
 fiercely for the interests of the Papists, and yet goes to
 no church;" Cockpit, January 31, 1687-8. Again; "You
 may remember I have once before ventured to tell you,
 that I thought Lord Sunderland a very ill man, and I am
 more confirmed every day in that opinion——and now
 to complete all his virtues, he is working with all his
 might to bring in Popery. He is perpetually with the
 priests, and stirs up the King to do the things faster than
 I believe he would of himself;" March 13, 1687-8. So
 zealous and determined did he appear to Barillon in every
 thing that related to the promotion of the Catholic faith
 in opposition to the religion of the state, that to the last
 he would not be persuaded of his duplicity, and opposed
 all the suggestions of Count D'Avaux, and Sir Bevil
 Skelton. His dispatch, January 5, 1688, has these
 words:—"On the contrary, I see that this minister engages
 himself every day more in whatever can be most opposite
 to the interests of the Prince of Orange, and that he
 holds a conduct inconsistent with the design which it
 is pretended he has, to keep measures with him. He is
 the person, who for a long time past, has ardently pressed
 all the resolutions which have been taken in favour of the

* Dal. App.

Catholics; he pursues with firmness whatever can lead to the abolishing the penal laws and the test, which is what the Prince of Orange fears the most." On the subject of the act of settlement, which Sunderland describes himself so anxious to uphold, perpetually counteracting the measures taken for its abolition, the same Barillon writes, October 16, 1687, "—— this gave me an opportunity of entering upon the affairs of Ireland. Lord Sunderland told me that the King, his master, is resolved to reverse the act of settlement which was made of the Irish Catholics' estates to the English Protestants upon the return of the late King of England; that this was as yet kept very secret; but it would soon be gone about, and that measures are taken to accomplish it." In the same dispatch it is mentioned that it was a project of Lord Sunderland for the King of France to take into his pay the Roman Catholics that should leave the Dutch service, whom he was to hold in readiness to assist James, on the ground that such a foreign force of James's own subjects would be the best means of establishing Popery in England.

So far for his attachment to the civil and religious constitution of his country, the moderation of his counsels celebrated by Burnet, and the veracity of his apology. The second question arises, While he was thus abetting the bigotted zeal of his master, was he secretly plotting for the subversion of his throne? was he busy in keeping him in the dark as to the scheme meditated against him? was he in correspondence with his enemies? In his *apology* he certainly maintains that in all his measures he was directed by secret anxiety for the preservation of the Protestant establishment, though he *seemed* zealous to promote the Catholic religion. He pays a number of compliments to the Prince of Orange, whose enterprise had been crowned with success, and speaks with admiration of the revolution then accomplished, but he hazards no avowal that he had been privately instrumental in bringing it forward, except in one branch of conduct

CHAP. II. which will be taken notice of. There are three letters
 ——— of his addressed to King William immediately after the
 1688. Revolution*. The language of the first almost amounts
 to a confession of the charge imputed to him:—"For I
 thought I had served the public so importantly in con-
 tributing what lay in me towards the advancing of your
 glorious undertaking, that the having been in an odious
 ministry," &c. What was advancing William's under-
 taking, but treachery to the master he then served?

It appears from D'Avaux's dispatches that he had early
 intelligence of William's design. This he of course
 communicated to his court, and his court transmitted
 frequent warnings to James. In the month of June the
 English monarch was cautioned by the French ambas-
 sador against an invasion from Holland; and an offer was
 made to him of sixteen French ships to join the English
 fleet in order to oppose it. D'Avaux's information was
 corroborated by Sir Bevil Skelton. In the course of his
 correspondence with Budé de Verace the Genèveve who
 has been mentioned, he appears to have obtained such
 details respecting the enterprise as must have satisfied
 James of its reality if they had reached him; but Skelton
 from the beginning suspected they were intercepted from
 him by Sunderland; and Verace entertained the same
 suspicion, as should seem by an obscure passage of his
 letter of the 20th of August, already referred to. Speak-
 ing of his intention to seek a personal conference with the
 King himself, he says, "If I was to divulge the affair, it
 would be to the King himself; because it regards Her
 Royal Highness as well as the Prince, and Monsieur de
 Bentinck. It is true, it regards much more the two last,
 and likewise a third principal person concerned, not to
 name several others." The third principal person con-
 cerned may be conjectured to have been Sunderland, and
 the disclosures to have been made to the King to have
 related to his perfidy.

* Dal. App.

Sunderland had found the *cabal of seven* too extended CHAP. II.
for his purposes. He had contrived to concentrate the
whole administration of affairs in his own hands and those
of Father Petre, over whom he possessed an absolute
ascendant. As diplomatic matters might be supposed
out of the sphere of Father Petre's studies, he succeeded
at last in excluding even the reverend jesuit from what-
ever related to foreign concerns; and he procured an
order from the King to all ambassadors and ministers
abroad, to correspond with him alone, so that he had no
difficulty in intercepting whatever intelligence or rumours
he thought proper. Skelton and Verace, as has been
mentioned, had thoughts of undertaking a journey to
England. We know not what prevented them; perhaps
orders obtained by Sunderland.

1688.

The dispatches of Barillon for the year 1688, attest the
variety of artifices he practised to divert and elude the
effect of the communications from France, and prevent the
King of England from accepting any of the offers of
assistance made to him by the French monarch. His
most common artifice was to insist upon the silence of
Albeville, or the loose disjointed character of the reports
he transmitted; and Albeville was in the pay of the Prince
of Orange, probably with Sunderland's knowledge.

The offers of French assistance he would persuade
James, one day to accept, and a few days after to decline.
This versatility would lead to the presumption that he was
not actuated by any steady principle; yet in his *apology*
he claims much merit on this head. This is the only
share, he avows in this document, which he had in for-
warding the Revolution.—He says, “Indeed French ships
were offered to join our fleet, and they were refused; since
the noise of the Prince's design, more ships were offered;
and it was agreed how they should be commanded, if ever
desired. I opposed to death the accepting of them, as
well as any assistance of men; and can say most truly, that
I was the principal means of hindering both, by the help
of some lords, with whom I consulted every day, and they

CHAP. II. with me, to prevent what we thought would be of great
1688. prejudice, if not ruinous to the nation."—He and those noble lords judged rightly.—In opposing French assistance to the extent here referred to, they were contending for the honour and independence of their glorious country; but if, on combining all circumstances, the motive of Sunderland shall appear very different from any patriotic feeling, the motive of a clandestine intriguer and betrayer, his memory must be loaded with the detestation which treachery will ever excite in honest unsophisticated bosoms, to whatever good it was made subservient in the economy of a merciful Providence.

Some of Sunderland's early correspondence with the Prince of Orange has been already taken notice of. He was engaged to serve him in the business of the exclusion, and a passage has been quoted from Mr. Fox's Appendix, indicating an obscure species of intercourse carried on after the accession of James, not unknown to the King. This is not the treacherous correspondence now in question. But when Dyckvelt, the Dutch envoy, returned to his country, he took with him a letter from Sunderland to the Prince, in company with many others, from persons certainly disaffected to the Government, and meditating a change. Dyckvelt was an object of suspicion to James, as having come over to sound the minds of the discontented, and James had pressed to have him recalled. Together with the letters of which he was the bearer on his return, he was to deliver a number of oral messages to the Prince; and most of the letters refer to those messages for details and explanations, which the writers were afraid of committing to paper.

Sunderland's letter contains a reference of this kind. It cannot, therefore, be supposed, that a correspondence of this kind, carried on through the channel of Dyckvelt, could have been known to the King, and with his approbation. But the question of treachery is decided, unless we believe the long letter published by Sir John Dalrymple, as having been found in King William's strong

box, and which is said to have been carried over to Hol-CHAP. II.
land from Lady Sunderland by a special messenger, to be
a forgery. This was just at the time when the negocia-
tion was depending between James and the Prince for the
repeal of the test and penal laws. James had made an
earnest application to the Prince for his consent to this
measure. From the situation of confidence which Sun-
derland enjoyed, it is not unreasonable to think the appli-
cation originated from his advice; it certainly could not
have been made without his approbation. Yet he dis-
patched a special messenger to obviate the possibility of
its being attended with any success. The letter refers,
with a sneer, to the "fine offers" that would be made to
him, and insists, unequivocally, they were only so many
deceitful lures, and that the consent James was so anxious
to inveigle from him, would "be of very ill consequence
to him in the estimation of the nation; and this was the
opinion of all his faithful servants in the country." It
may be said, this letter was written by Lady Sunderland;
it bears her signature. Sir John Dalrymple thinks the
letter itself was written by her under her husband's dic-
tation, and that only the postscript was her own compo-
sition. However this might be, no one can suppose such
an epistle can have been penned without Lord Sunderland's
participation and concurrence. Lady Sunderland often
wrote to the Princess; and the situation of her uncle Sidney
near the Prince, induced her husband to employ her in the
communications he wished to transmit.—When I express
the possibility of this letter published by Sir John Dal-
rymple being a forgery, I am bound in justice to add, that
notwithstanding a number of vague charges, and a still
greater number of insinuations suggested by the spleen
and intemperance of party, the fidelity of his publications
has never yet been impeached. His extracts from the
depôt des affaires étrangères in Paris, are verified by Mr.
Fox's subsequent researches; and it must be insisted
upon, to his honour, that it never fell to the lot of any
individual to discover and assemble such a number of

CHAP. II. valuable materials relating to any portion of history, as he
 1688. has done respecting the period of which I have undertaken to treat. Never was so important a service performed to the interests of historical truth. The light reflected on the views of parties and men, at this very interesting crisis, is scarcely to be equalled; and it certainly is a matter of astonishment, that all our historians should have profited so little by it. The worthy Baronet himself has made but a slender use of his own collection; but however meanly we may think of the ill-written sketch he has entitled, "Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland," &c. it is impossible to set too high a value on the Appendix which forms the great bulk of his volumes.

Not only Sunderland entertained a clandestine correspondence with the Prince, but actually betrayed to him the most important secrets confided to him by his master, if we believe the following anecdote, and it is supported by good authority. *Extract from Lord Dartmouth's notes on Bishop Burnet's History*:—"The Duke of Chandos told me, as a thing he knew to be true, that the King of France wrote to King James to let him know that he had certain intelligence that the design was upon England, and that he would immediately besiege Maestricht—soon after the States threw six thousand men into the town. The King of France enquired of James if he had revealed the information to any one. James answered to none but Lord Sunderland, who, he was sure, would not discover it. The King of France was then convinced that he was betrayed*."

Against the letter produced from King William's box, written by Lady Sunderland, is the assertion of Burnet, who affirms that he questioned the Prince in person upon the subject; upon which "the Prince did say very positively, that he was in no sort of correspondence with him†." I know no passage which so directly supports the accu-

* Dal. App. See the same anecdote in M'Pherson's papers, v. i. p. 268.

† Hist. v. i. p. 416.

sations of the Prelate's enemies against his veracity, as CHAP. II.
this.

1688.

It should seem, however, that at no subsequent period was James ever convinced of Sunderland's treachery. In what has been given to the world of the Memoirs he composed long after his fall from power, he no where charges him plainly with treachery, but merely insists on his extreme venality, saying, "he was the most mercenary man in the world; veered with all winds; besides having a pension from the Prince of Orange, he had one from the King of France." Nor does the conviction of his treachery unequivocally appear in the history of D'Orléans, though written after Sunderland had published his *apology*; in which he declared that he had been secretly counteracting the King's measures, though in appearance abetting them. The Jesuit historian treats the question of his treachery as doubtful; and contents himself with displaying the reasonings that might be produced to establish or invalidate the charge. The mercenary disposition of Sunderland is to be traced in all the dispatches of the French ambassador, and shews itself often in instances which are absolutely ludicrous. This was the effect, in a great measure, of his extravagance in private life, joined to that of his lady. The Princess Anne, in one of her letters to her sister, says, "she cares not at what rate she lives, but never pays any body." This will ever be the case.—The man who launches out into expenses beyond his means, and is besieged by importunate creditors, can never be sure of his own integrity. Money offered to him, from whatever quarter, with which he may stop the cries that interrupt his peace, will sap his principles, however lofty.—The only solid foundation of public virtue is private independence, which can be established only by the necessary economy.

It has been seen that Sunderland, from the commencement of the reign, enjoyed a regular pension from France. His applications for additional and occasional payments were incessant, and his contrivances to obtain them were innumerable. Some of James's most sincere and confi-

CHAP. II. 1688. ^{1688.} dential advisers recommended to him to strengthen his government, and weaken the Dutch, whose hostile designs he had reason to apprehend, by recalling the British troops in their service; at the same time the King of France offered to relieve him from the expense, by taking them secretly into his pay, though they remained in England. That ambitious monarch thought it agreeable to his interests to have a body of mercenaries at his devotion in the heart of James's dominions. James hesitated, and Sunderland pretended to oppose the plan; so that the proposed recal was for some time suspended. Sunderland applied himself to the French ambassador, and offered to give up his own scruples, and overcome those of his master, and expose himself to the whole weight of unpopularity which would fall upon him from a measure that would be regarded as a complete rupture with Holland, if he received a large sum in addition to his regular pension. He intimated the sum should be a considerable one:—" *Il ne s'est point expliqué précisément sur la somme qu'il demande, mais je crois qu'il s'attend à quelque chose de considérable**."

On another occasion the ambassador was instructed to demand the assistance of a British fleet of twenty ships of war to co-operate with the views of France. Sunderland in the same manner affected scruples, and persuaded James to manifest a decided reluctance. At last a negociation was set on foot and concluded, by which the King was to receive two hundred thousand crowns, as his share of the bribe, while a large sum, not named, was to be paid to his minister. In an account of Barillon's disbursements, dated 26th of July, 1688, the amount of these extraordinary sums paid to him in addition to his pension, is stated at thirty thousand French livres. It appears Sunderland all this time enjoyed a pension from the Prince of Orange, which he must have earned by betraying the French court. He was able, notwithstanding, completely

* Dispatch, January 5, 1688.

to blind the French ambassador, who, in consequence of CHAP. II.
the suspicions communicated by D'Avaux and Skelton, 1688.
was ordered narrowly to watch his proceedings, and frequently to confer with him. The ambassador rose from every conference more and more persuaded of his integrity and attachment to his master's interests; nor was he warned by the proofs he had daily of his mercenary disposition. The fascination of the ambassador must have had some influence in securing that of the King of England. Yet a suspicion would occasionally shoot athwart the mind of James. Though he publicly refused all offers of French assistance, yet overcome by his fears, he wrote with his own hand to the French King, to keep his ships of war ready at Brest, and concealed the secret of the letter from all, even from Sunderland.

Sunderland had taken a very decided step to appease the suspicions to which his conduct gave rise, and which he says, in his *apology*, rose to the loudest clamours and the most virulent publications from a number of the Catholics. He made in the month of July public abjuration of the Protestant religion, by which he knew he should satisfy the most bigotted of the party among whom his unfortunate master eminently ranked. He had been regarded as long wavering, not, it should seem, from any perplexity arising from the force of contending arguments.—The Princess Anne, in a letter of January 31, says, he went to no church, and was not thought to have any religion whatever. On the March following, she writes, he did not go publicly to mass, but heard it privately in a priest's chamber. His policy was, to seem to be led from one step to another by the cogency of the controversial reasonings he heard, and give his converters a prolonged taste of the victory they imagined they were every day gaining over him. Yet this man declares he had, all this time, nothing at heart but the interests of the Protestant faith.—Bishop Burnet is a little puzzled when he comes to this step of Sunderland's change of religion. He is evidently partial to him, so far as to sacrifice to him his veracity ;

CHAP. II. yet in adverting to this act, he confesses his object was
1688. to secure his ascendant over the mind of the Queen, which was in reality to assist him in his design of betraying James.

Sir Bevil Skelton finding his master was not roused by all the information he conveyed, which he judged to have been intercepted from him, thought to force from the states of Holland a public declaration of the secret of their preparations. He proposed to the French ministers that their ambassador at the Hague should present a memorial for this purpose. The proposition was sufficiently agreeable to the ministers, who eagerly laid hold of every opportunity of intermeddling in the affairs of England. D'Avaux, early in September, in obedience to his orders, presented the desired memorial, but the wording of it was extremely injudicious. It contained these words—"that the ties of friendship and alliance between his master and the King of England obliged him not only to assist him, but to look on the first act of hostility as an open rupture with his crown." The States, who were not yet prepared for a discovery of the secret, laid hold of these words, and their ministers asked in terms of resentment, What was this treaty of friendship and alliance, which had not been made public? thereby artfully eluding the explanation demanded, and exciting in the Dutch people a sense of national danger from a mysterious confederacy between the two monarchs. Sunderland persuaded James to resent the conduct of Skelton, and not only instantly to recal him without allowing him time for excuses or answers, but on his arrival in England to commit him prisoner to the Tower. The King of France was provoked in his turn at this punishment inflicted on a man who had served his master faithfully, and who, according to that monarch's expressions, deserved rather to be rewarded than disgraced. He, however, sent over Bon Rupos, one of his courtiers, to the King of England, with fresh and more circumstantial intelligence of his danger, and fresh offers of assistance. It was not difficult to terrify James. He

gave an order for the junction of his fleet with the French, CHAP. II.
yet from his facility and infatuation, he was persuaded by
Sunderland to recal his order a few days after, and treat
the whole information as a false alarm. He says it was
about the middle of September he opened his eyes. Yet
there is a dispatch from Barillon as low down as the 18th
of the month, in which he says, that the King by the
persuasion of Sunderland, was under no manner of appre-
hension. The King's last letter to the Prince of Orange
is of the 17th, which, though somewhat cold and distant,
is in terms he would scarcely have made use of to one he
considered as coming to deprive him of his crown. 1688.

The whole month of September was employed by the Prince in completing his preparations and forwarding his troops to the appointed place of rendezvous. He had formed a camp of twenty thousand men between Grave and Nimeguen, under pretence of observing the French in the Electorate of Cologne. This position was well chosen, as the army could fall down to the sea in a few days by the numerous rivers and canals which intersect the Dutch territories, and could escape observation in their passage by falling down in separate divisions. The greatest precautions were still used not to give the alarm prematurely to the court of England. The obscurity of the nights was chosen for the transport of the troops, ammunition, and other implements of war. Boats were seen moving in a direction towards Nimeguen, as if leaving the sea coast, but their loads were secretly conveyed back in vessels which came empty for the purpose. By the activity of his agents, and the zeal of all orders of the people in favour of the enterprise, the Prince was enabled to hire five hundred transports in the space of three days. A considerable train of artillery was secretly embarked; flat boats for landing on the shores of England were built; the workmen at the docks were ordered not to intermit their labours night or day, and by the end of the month fifty sail of ships of war of different sizes were ready to protect the progress of the expedition.

CHAP. II. In the first days of October, the Prince at last thought
it time to avow his intentions. Pensionary Fagel informed
1688. Albeville, that his master was to expect a descent on his
kingdom. Having thrown off all concealment, the Prince
ordered a declaration to be drawn up to justify his enter-
prise. This was a matter of some difficulty. To say
enough, and not too much, was the point; and in particular
not to hazard any premature discovery of the results which
no doubt the Prince and all his zealous partisans expected.
A number of draughts were sent over from England, and
persons of different parties and descriptions proposed
their views and notions. The Prince committed the first
adjustment of the terms of it to Pensionary Fagel, who
was guided by the secret suggestions of his old friend
and correspondent Stuart, who had repaired from Scot-
land to London to communicate more easily with him.
Burnet, who was employed to translate it into English,
says it was a long and heavy draught, and seems to disap-
prove of the principles on which it rested. Being a man
of a certain strength and decision of mind, unaccompanied
by any degree of prudence or discretion, he would, no
doubt, have had the Prince expose at once all the changes
he meditated, and defend them upon those high and
enlarged views of things of which he himself was per-
suaded, and which he concluded must persuade all others.
Like all violent party men, he knew of no management or
compromise with opinions different from his own. The
Prince, on the other hand, was aware the large majority of
the English people were by no means prepared for those
daring doctrines and abrupt expositions. They were
under the dominion of narrow modes of thinking, and
antiquated prejudices, which were to be soothed and
humoured, and no disclosure to be hazarded which would
alarm them by the prospect of consequences and results.
Their language, Sir John Reresby tells us, during the
progress of the Prince's design, was, "the Prince comes
only to maintain the Protestant religion;—he will do no
harm to England." It was this notion which so much

Prince's
declara-
tion.

favoured the Revolution in the beginning. Had the multitude discerned what the first steps would lead them to, many are the obstacles and great the resistance which would have arisen. To keep them in the dark was one of the great objects of the declaration, and this impressed upon it a character of obscurity and perplexity. It recited the several acts of misgovernment which called for the Prince's interposition. It adverted to the rights of the Princess;—it specified the invitation of many of the lords spiritual and temporal, and other persons of all ranks and conditions;—it questioned the legitimacy of James's infant son; and from all these considerations it inferred the Prince's right of interposing to see that a free and legal parliament was convened for the purpose of a full redress of grievances, and a complete settlement of the kingdom. The terms of this settlement the declaration did not even allude to. The Prince thought it best to leave this part of the subject involved in obscurity, which the course of events would probably clear up to his advantage. The only topic relating to himself which he introduced, was questioning the birth of the supposed Prince of Wales, and intimating that parliament might find reason to set him aside, in which case the Princess, his consort, must necessarily come in, in the ordinary course of succession. The introduction of this topic might create some surprise at this time, and be deemed extremely indecorous in so solemn a paper as the Prince's declaration. The reality of the birth is now an established and indisputable point in history. If an additional proof of it were wanting, it would be furnished by the circumstance that the parliamentary inquiry the Prince referred to was never set on foot. But though in these times a matter above the reach of controversy, in which the general opinion excludes the least particle of doubt, it was by no means judged so certain and incontrovertible at the period of the *declaration*. Besides, the testimony of Burnet, which may not be thought to carry much weight, there are proofs of the belief of the most respectable per-

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CHAP. II. sons as to the supposititious birth which are of the highest importance. The form of association in which the principal partisans of the Revolution first signed their union, was a paper transmitted to the Prince of Orange in the utmost secrecy. It certainly was not intended for the public eye. The suggestions, therefore, it contained were not for the purpose of spreading popular delusion, but indicate the sincere conviction of the subscribers to it. Now, this paper expressly affirms there was not one in a thousand in England who believed the child to be the Queen's. There are two private letters, one from Lord Devonshire, and the other from Lord Danby to the Prince*, and they both disclose the suspicions of the noble writers that the child was supposititious. These were not the opinions of the vulgar, but proceeded from men of the first rank; and the same remark is applicable to them as has been made on the form of the association—that they were communicated in entire secrecy, and consequently, sincerity. From these considerations it may be inferred, that when the Prince put his name to the expressions in the declaration, he really entertained doubts of the reality of the birth. In this state of his mind he would not hesitate to introduce the topic which was of the highest political use to him, and accordingly, the associators had recommended it to him as one of the cardinal arguments on which his enterprise was to be justified. It is certain the sort of obscure surmise which hung over the birth contributed greatly in soothing and reconciling timid consciences. It permitted men who entertained a superstitious reverence for hereditary right, and the regular descent of the crown, to nourish a doubt, whether in joining the Prince they were not in reality taking a step to secure it. It served to keep away from their thoughts the results to which an armed insurrection must inevitably lead. It was well calculated for the Tories and church party, that is, the great body of the nation. To their

* Dal. App.

ruling passion, zeal for the Protestant religion, the framers of the declaration frequently addressed themselves. To preserve the Protestant religion was the leading object of the undertaking.—This was frequently repeated. The title of the declaration was “to justify the Prince’s entering in arms into the kingdom of England, which was only for the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the re-establishment of the laws and liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland.” Every assurance was given of protection to the *established church*. The precedence was assigned to the first object. The force the Prince carried with him was expressly stated to be merely sufficient to give weight to his necessary interposition, and constitute a rallying point to his well-wishers, wholly inadequate to the purpose of conquest, the bare notion of which was earnestly disclaimed. The considerations which have been deduced, recommended the declaration as it was drawn up to all that was illustrious in rank and eminent in talents in the Prince’s councils. They did not peruse it as a piece of highly finished reasoning, or a very logical exposition, but as calculated to humour the opinions and prejudices of the nation to whom it was addressed. This very circumstance excited against it a man who, as he is described by Burnet, may be regarded the prototype of those factious demagogues whom we have seen among us. The similarity is so striking, that I shall transcribe many passages from Burnet’s description in the very words he has used. As soon as the Prince’s enterprise was rumoured abroad, all the fugitive English scattered over the Continent of Europe hastened to embark in it. A seditious and ungovernable spirit had carried many of them out of their native country, and they did little honour to the holy cause under which they enlisted themselves. Among others was one Wildman, who had been a soldier in his youth; but having what Lord Clarendon calls “a smooth pen,” or in other words, a knack at scribbling, had betaken himself to the trade of writing and publishing seditious

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Wildman.

CHAP. II. and inflammatory papers. By the exercise of this talent,
1688. he laboured successfully to overturn the ancient laws and constitution of his country, and after the murder of his sovereign saw the soldier who had employed him armed with supreme power, and trampling with scorn on all civil rights and immunities. The foolish libeller thought the moment of his triumph was arrived, and that he might now proceed with unrestrained licentiousness and insolence; but he found he had woefully mistaken the matter. The rod of Cromwell was very different from the sceptre of the King, whom he had insulted, and had been instrumental in destroying. He very narrowly escaped being hanged, and only purchased his life by turning spy in the service of the usurper. He had lived in exile since the Restoration, but thought the opportunity of the Prince's expedition favourable for returning to his country, and again busying himself in politics. "*He brought,*" says Burnet, "*his usual ill humour along with him, having a peculiar talent of possessing others by a sort of contagion with jealousy and discontent.*" He had never been consistent but in one thing, *that of meddling in every thing that looked like sedition, and opposing whatever was uppermost.*" The first step he took after his arrival, was to except against the declaration, and dispute against it article by article. He censured the paragraph in which the dispensing power was pronounced to be illegal. Having a little knowledge of law, and some reading of law books, qualifications which persons of his character seem particularly to cultivate as useful in their usual occupation of intermeddling and stirring up dissensions, he undertook to prove the dispensing power was perfectly legal, and supported his argument by an ostentatious display of superficial and cumbersome legal erudition. He vehemently opposed whatever had a tendency to soothe and humour the church party, that is, to produce unanimity in the nation, and suggested a number of alterations calculated to thwart and exasperate them, and bring to their recollection the

acts in which they had been concerned. The grievances CHAP. II.
complained of were not *his* grievances. He must have a
list of his own framing, supported by a new theory of the
English government, the whole adorned and encumbered
with his usual legal pedantry. The man who was against
every thing that might conciliate or soften the opposition
of the church party and high prerogative men, was not
content in his new theory of government, without stretch-
ing the authority of the crown beyond all former limits;
at one time acting the part of a republican, and at another
zealous for the prerogative. The right reverend historian
frankly owns he could not account for all this conduct:—
“ *All this seemed mysterious when a known republican was
become an advocate for prerogative. His design in this
was deep and spiteful. He saw that as the declaration
was drawn, the church party would come in, and be well
received by the Prince: so he who designed to separate the
Prince and them at the greatest distance from one another,
studied to make the Prince declare against those grievances
in which many of them were concerned, and which some
among them had promoted.*” We have lived to see this
pestilential character, in all its abominable perfection,
expanded and developed by the misfortunes of our times.
We have witnessed inconsistency and tergiversation car-
ried to an almost inconceivable degree of impudence.
We have seen the same man one day celebrating the
authority of the crown, quoting with grave arrogance old
statutes, and antiquated precedents and moth-eaten parch-
ments; another day wholly bent on flattering the pride of
the multitude, and paying homage to their passions. He
will hear of nothing but the rights of the people, which no
statute can abrogate, against which no precedent can
avail. But amidst these variations of style and doctrine,
we trace one and the same object,—to produce division
where they see concord,—to lower that rank which
provokes their envy and mortifies their vanity,—to reign
over a certain circle of admirers, no matter how com-

CHAP. II. posed, by the astonishing audacity of their publications, and
a kind of paradoxical show diffused over their opinions.

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The wind continued blowing from the west for some time and prevented the embarkation, for which every thing was prepared. At length, on the 16th of October, it shifted to the east and favoured the sailing of the expedition. The necessary orders were immediately issued. The morning of that day, the Prince of Orange went to take his leave of the States.—He entered the assembly with a modest but confident air, warranted by his past services;—he addressed them in a short and manly strain of eloquence.—He professed himself “deeply impressed with a sense of the kindness he had upon all occasions experienced from them; he called God to witness he had served them faithfully ever since they had trusted him with the government; he never had proposed to himself any end but the good of the country.—This he had uniformly pursued. If at any time he had been deficient, it was the error of his judgment, not the fault of his heart. He appealed to that God who knew the sincerity of his heart, he had no motive in his present undertaking other than he had set forth in his *declaration*. He did not know how it might please that great Being to dispose of him; to his providence he committed himself. Whatever might be his fate, he was confident he would not withdraw his protecting care from their country, which he had ever mercifully favoured. On going, he begged leave to recommend to them the object dearest to all his tenderest affections,—the Princess his wife. He could say for her, she loved the country of her adoption no less than that of her birth. Should he be snatched from her, it was a source of the most soothing consolation to him, when he reflected that they would not fail to protect her, and use her as she deserved.” These farewell words, uttered by the hero whom they revered as their guardian and preserver, melted the whole audience into tears. Some from every province would have answered him, but their accents

were broken by their emotions, and they could only utter a few expressions of tenderness. The Prince preserved his usual gravity and phlegm*.

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Helvoetsluys was the appointed place of rendezvous for the ships and troops which were to compose the expedition. Some delays occurred in the sailing, but on the 19th the Prince went on board, and at night the whole fleet weighed anchor. Just on the eve of his embarkation, the Prince received a manifesto issued by the French King against the Emperor and the empire, and was gratified by the intelligence that the great body of the French army had in prosecution of this new determination of hostilities, moved towards the Lower Rhine, and had actually laid siege to Philisburgh. This set his mind at ease respecting the security of the Dutch frontier, and he proceeded on his expedition with the greater alacrity. This conduct in the King of France countenances the suspicion, that he was not unwilling the descent should take place upon England, in hopes a civil war would rage in the bowels of that kingdom. By this extraordinary refinement in politics, he missed the opportunity which providentially never returned to him, of subverting the independence of the European states, and establishing universal monarchy. Had his troops advanced on the Dutch frontier and laid siege to Maestricht instead of Philisburgh, as he is said once to have proposed, he would probably have produced such disquietude in the mind of the Prince of Orange as would have intercepted the deliverance of England. England, instead of proving a rampart to Europe, would, under the dominion of James, leagued by community of bigotry with the French monarch, have been a passive vassal, forward in assisting and promoting his designs.

At the approach of the Prince's embarkation, all his partisans in England repaired to their several stations, wherever, by the influence of their property or family alliances, they could best co-operate by the insurrections

CHAP. II. they might excite, with the effect of his landing. Lords
 ——— Danby and Lumley went privately into Yorkshire. Lord
 1688. Devonshire was in motion between Yorkshire and Derby-
 shire and Nottinghamshire. Lord Delamere was busy in
 Cheshire. A secret to which so many were privy, was not
 betrayed by any. Burnet had reason to boast "of the
 difference between the hearty concurrence of those who go
 into a design upon principles of religion and honour, and
 the forced compliance of mercenary soldiers or corrupt
 ministers, which is neither cordial nor secret."

James had not certain information of his danger, which
 completely satisfied him, till he received a dispatch from
 Albeville, apprising him of the disclosure made to him,
 which has been mentioned. His terrors were then pro-
 portionable to his former drowsy security. The dispatch
 dropped from his hand; he stood motionless, and a
 deadly paleness overspread his countenance. In his con-
 sternation he cast a mournful look round him for assistance.
 There was no party in the nation whose support he could
 expect. The Catholics, whom he had been at infinite
 pains to increase in number were still but a handful. The
 labours of his priests and missionaries had been ineffectual.
 Not above two or three persons of distinction are men-
 tioned as having been gained over, and this small accession
 was balanced by an equal number of seceders, among
 whom Lords Shrewsbury and Lumley, two of the most
 strenuous partisans of the Revolution, have been taken
 notice of. Sir John Reresby accounts for this tenacious
 adherence to the national faith, by supposing it to have
 arisen from sentiments of private and public honour in the
 hearts of individuals. It was the religion of freemen and
 Englishmen not to be bartered for "the mercenary views
 of a reward." But the spirit with which men clung to
 their particular modes of faith, at the period of which we
 treat, was very different from what we can well conceive
 in the present times. Whoever loses sight of this obser-
 vation, which is confirmed by many circumstances related,
 and might be supported by a very long enumeration of

particulars, is not in a situation to judge rightly of the causes which produced events, and determined the conduct of individuals at this momentous crisis. CHAP. II. 1688.

Nor were men in the lower orders of life less steady to the religion of their country. There is a return of persons of different persuasions in England, made a few years after, when the whole number of Catholics fit to bear arms in the provinces of Canterbury and York was only four thousand nine hundred and forty*. Allowing them to have been a little more numerous when their religion was the religion of the King, and supported by every mode of court influence and favour, it may be inferred from this return, they never formed such a body as could be called a party in the nation. The King was in a state of mind approaching to despondency of producing any effect on the Presbyterians and Dissenters. His first impulse, therefore, was to apply himself to the old church party, whose attachment he had so long enjoyed, and who, upon every point of *civil and political* relief were in perfect union of faith with him. He accordingly sent for such bishops as were in town, and affected to ask their advice. The advice suggested by these worthy prelates savoured little of zeal for the rights and privileges of the nation which the King was accused of infringing, but breathed a spirit more offensive to him than if they had been the most determined Whigs, or even republicans,—the entire undiluted vigour of Protestant enthusiasm. They desired him to put the government of the counties wholly in the hands of Protestants, completely to reinstate Magdalen College, annul the ecclesiastical commission, renounce the dispensing power which had been made use of to annoy them and disturb their supremacy, interdict the four vicars apostolic, fill up all ecclesiastical vacancies, recommending one of themselves for the vacant see of York. The calling of a parliament, and restoring the corporations were mentioned, not with a view of gratifying any notion of popular rights

* Dal. App.

CHAP. II. and liberties, but as a means of securing the triumph of
 1688. the church, and darkly and indistinctly, as a mode of wholesome humiliation to the person of the King: but the sting was in the conclusion of their pious admonitions;—they requested permission to lay such arguments before him, as might have the effect of converting him to the Protestant faith. Not for all the crowns in Europe would James have allowed himself for one moment to doubt of the exclusive verity of the Catholic faith. No wonder, then, that he dismissed these zealous theologians with cold civility, which but ill concealed his inward anger and indignation. A few days after he resolved to try one more experiment upon them. The Prince, in his *declaration*, said he had been invited over by many of the lords “spiritual and temporal.” This expression suggested to James the design of procuring a formal disavowal from the bishops, with expressions of abhorrence of the Prince’s design. But these right reverend zealots, seeing they could gain nothing from him in favour of their darling church or the Protestant religion, had begun to favour the design in their hearts. Their astuteness did not forsake them. When called upon to subscribe and publish the disavowal in question, they answered by the mouth of their chief, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the true pious cant of practised dissimulation,—“We are the messengers of peace, and not the denouncers of war.” They however deemed it necessary to draw up a paper containing their reasons for refusing the disavowal demanded of them. We are in possession of this curious document*. A tissue of more palpable evasions never was produced. The King, convinced he had nothing to expect from them, lost all temper, and eagerly exclaimed, “Then I must trust to my own arms for defence.” He had been at the pains of questioning the prelates separately, and asking each whether he had concurred in the invitation of the Prince of Orange. The Bishop of London has

* M’Pherson’s State Papers.

described his own perplexity—his attempts to save his veracity by ambiguity and verbal concealment, and owns the direct falsehood to which he was at last driven. He first answered, “I am confident the rest of the bishops will as readily answer in the negative as myself.” Being more closely pressed, he was obliged unequivocally to deny that he knew of the invitation.—Persons, lolling in their arm-chairs, in the peaceable retirement of their closets, will, perhaps, heavily censure this breach of veracity; but the sensible moralist, however strict and rigid in his principles, will make some allowance for persons acting in the dangerous and critical times of revolutions.

1688.

James, though sufficiently provoked at the heads of advice proposed by the bishops, deemed it necessary to comply with them in part, according to his own expression, “which he granted in a great measure.” He took off the suspension from the Bishop of London;—he issued orders for restoring Magdalen College. He more willingly attended to the suggestions which they had not much insisted on, relating to the *civil* grievances of his subjects. He restored the charter of the City of London, and, to give greater solemnity to the act, and enhance the merit of it, he appointed Jefferies, who, in the zeal of his obsequiousness, had advised the taking it away, to go with it in state to the city. Jefferies was no favourite. His adherence to the Protestant religion effaced all the merit of his political obsequiousness, and James was not displeased to expose him to mortification and insult.

When the news of these concessions reached Holland, the Prince published a supplement or postscript to his declaration, in which they were treated as completely illusory, and only intended to serve the exigence of the moment.

Another act which James conceived it incumbent upon him to perform, in consequence of the declaration, was to establish the birth of the Prince of Wales by such evidence as must put the matter beyond all doubt with reasonable men.—He said he had hitherto disdained to

CHAP. II. notice the vague calumnies circulated on the subject, but
 1688. he would now condescend to enter into proofs. An extraordinary council was called, and a multitude of unexceptionable witnesses appeared before it, who proved, beyond the possibility of controversy, the reality both of the pregnancy and delivery. None but the lowest or most furious party writers ever after ventured to hazard any scepticism upon the subject. The fiction having served its purpose was allowed to expire in obscurity.

Sunderland dismissed from office.

Sunderland, as president of the council, carried the depositions concerning the birth to be recorded in chancery. This was his last act of authority. He was immediately after deprived of all his offices. His enemies for some time past had been every day increasing in numbers. They had been joined by the priests and the most vehement Catholic counsellors about the King's person, whom his last step of abjuring the Protestant religion, he promised himself, would for ever blind.

Excited by their fears, they were earnest with the King to accept of the proffered assistance from France in its fullest extent. Sunderland's constant opposition, though disguised by all the stratagems and devices he could contrive, awakened at length their suspicions. One circumstance combined with another carried their suspicions to what they regarded as proofs. His dismissal took place; and it may be deemed extraordinary that his punishment did not follow. But, as has been mentioned, James never was convinced of his treachery. The part of his conduct which seems to have given him most offence*, was that which was best calculated to serve him, and really has the appearance of zeal for his interests. Sunderland supported the advice of the bishops, and would have persuaded him to rescind all the acts which had so incensed the church party, to recal the declaration of indulgence, and put an end to the phantom of liberty of conscience. "He was," says James, "for undoing all, even liberty of conscience, to

* Life of James.—M'Pherson's Papers, p. 159.

disoblige the non-conformists; now the Church of England was offended."—As we know that Sunderland at this time was in secret correspondence with the Prince of Orange, and favoured his design, we are surprised at this suggestion of his to the King; for it really offered the best plan he could pursue, and would probably have defeated the Prince's enterprise. An alliance with the Dissenters and non-conformists was wholly chimerical, but a reconciliation with the church party was by no means so. The slightest overture, the smallest concession to their ruling passion, would have brought them back to their ancient zeal for prerogative, and the authority of the crown.—We may collect from James's words, that he had so attached himself to the scheme of blinding the Dissenters, as not to be induced to relinquish it; or, what is perhaps nearer the truth, that he was the dupe of his own artifice, and of the words he had accustomed himself to make use of; and that while he had really no intention but of favouring the Catholic religion, he actually persuaded himself liberty of conscience and indiscriminate kindness to all descriptions of Dissenters were his object and motive.

Sunderland preserved his character for gross artifice and hypocrisy to the last. While he was meditating his flight to Holland, where he had negociated a reception for himself, with real gravity and seeming earnestness he wrote repeatedly to the French ambassador, soliciting permission to retire to France, where he was much too wise to venture himself. In this scheme of double-dealing, if it can be so called, he can have proposed to himself no other object but the pleasure of deceiving.

Before he had left the King's councils, he had taken effectual measures to counteract his plans for military defence, which the King now regarded as his last and sole resource. His army, at the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, had amounted to fifteen thousand men, and this he had carried by successive augmentations to thirty-eight thousand foot, and six thousand horse and dragoons, the number of his troops when he had to encounter the inva-

CHAP. II. ^{1688.} sion of the Prince of Orange*. His coffers were well supplied to support this force. By his prudent management of the large revenue settled upon him by parliament, joined to the amount of the occasional eleemosynary donations he continued to receive from France, almost to the moment of his expulsion, he had in his treasury twenty-five hundred thousand crowns, the savings of his frugality; a large sum at that period. With such a regular army on foot, and such a supply of money for any scheme of operations he might carry on, James seemed to be in a situation to disregard the discontents of his people, and the efforts of his enemies both at home and abroad. The sovereign of a country has little to dread from all the cabals and machinations of factions, and even from the utmost ferment of popular discontent, as long as his army remains steady to him, and the army is not forward to desert the banners of its sovereign. There must be not only much misgovernment, but much weakness to occasion this. The Revolution of 1688 forms no exception to this rule; but at the same time it does not encourage the rulers of free countries to hard and arrogant contempt of the opinions and sentiments of a nation. It exhibits the tide of national opinions and sentiments working its way into an army in defiance of every precaution, and every attempt to draw a sullen line of separation around it, and preparing the way for the desertion which the weakness of a government is sure to produce.

James laboured incessantly, though perhaps with more zeal than prudence or dexterity, to inoculate his soldiers with his religious opinions, as the only means he thought likely to model them to his religious schemes. He set up a chapel in the midst of his camp at Hounslow, but this had no effect in producing converts. On the contrary, so public and ostentatious a display of a mode of worship contrary to law and odious to the people, confirmed the alienation of the soldiers from it. James had more than

* Reresby.

one opportunity of discerning the operation of his mea- CHAP. II.
sures so repugnant to his views. When the acquittal of the
bishops was announced to his encampment by the pro- 1688.

longed shouts of the London populace, the shouts of rejoicing were echoed back by the soldiers. The vexation of the King may be imagined. He happened to be in the tent of Lord Feversham the general, and inquired into the cause of the uproar he heard. Feversham went for information, and, returning, told him the truth without disguise:—"It is nothing but the soldiers rejoicing for the acquittal of the bishops." 'Do you call that nothing?' interrupted the indignant King; 'but so much the worse for them.' On another occasion he resolved to make trial of a particular regiment. He ordered the whole battalion of Litchfield's to be drawn out before him; he then gave the word, that such as did not approve of his measures should lay down their arms. He beheld with consternation the whole regiment execute the order, with the exception of three or four Catholic privates, and two captains. After some moments of silence, he muttered sullenly to himself, that in future he would not do them the honour to consult them.

Many of the principal officers entered into an association for the purpose of encouraging and promoting this spirit among the troops. They formed a club, which held its sittings at the Rose Tavern in Covent Garden, and which was stigmatized by the King's adherents with the name of the Treason Club. Lord Colchester, Mr. Wharton, Mr. Jephson, were met here by Lord Cornbury, Colonel Talmash, Lieutenant-Colonel Langston. They animated each other in their designs by much drinking and suitable toasts*. At their expense, and by their orders, a number of songs and ballads were circulated among the populace and the private soldiers. Most of them were calculated to inspire a contempt for Papists and Irishmen

* See the narrative of Col. Ambrose Norton, among M'Pherson's Papers, v. i. p. 289.

CHAP. II. whom the King was thought to look to for assistance, from which the transition was easy to disaffection to his person and government. One known by the name of Lillabullero, from some Irish words which formed the chorus, is particularly noticed as having been eminently instrumental in producing these effects.

1688.

The King not trusting entirely to his system of conversion and proselytism, brought over a number of Irish Catholics, and sought to introduce them into all ranks of his army. He gave commissions to those who had any pretension to them, and put the privates in the place of Protestants whom he found a pretext for cashiering. This only served to inflame and exasperate the spirit against him, and was made use of by the *associators* in furtherance of their views. The regiment of his illegitimate son, the Duke of Berwick, was quartered at Portsmouth. Fifty Irish Catholic recruits came over in a body, and he ordered them to be received in the regiment; but the Protestant officers, in correspondence with the *association* in London, were prepared to resist. The lieutenant-colonel, Beaumont, and five captains, joined in formally declaring they would not obey the King's orders. In vain he testified his anger and indignation, had them all brought up to Windsor under an escort of horse, tried by a court-martial, and cashiered. The spirit continued spreading.

The King felt he could not place any reliance for the support of measures so entirely and exclusively directed to the promotion of the Catholic religion but on professed Catholics. He was anxious to learn how many there were in each regiment. For this purpose, wherever the colonel or lieutenant-colonel happened to be of that persuasion, he sent to them, and in default of them to the major. The returns could not have been very gratifying to him, for Colonel Ambrose Norton informs us, that in his regiment, which was one of the most Catholic, there was only one lieutenant, a quarter-master, and thirteen troopers. These inquiries and returns were not such a secret as to escape the knowledge of the *associators*, and

they immediately published, that all Protestants were, one CHAP. II,
after the other, to be cashiered from the army, their places
to be occupied by Irish Papists, and then a general mas-
sacre of the English to commence*.

1688.

Lord Tyrconnell observing the very slow and inconsiderable introduction of Catholics into the English army, was earnest with the King to bring over whole regiments from Ireland, whom he had properly modelled and prepared. Lord Sunderland, then in the King's councils, was alarmed for the enterprise he was secretly favouring and encouraging. He contrived so many pretexts, and interposed so many delays, that when he was dismissed from power, and the King resolved to carry into execution the suggestion of Tyrconnell, it was too late. It should seem, however, there were some regiments of Catholics in England at the time of the Prince of Orange's landing. They were in a great measure composed of Catholics who had left the service of the United States when the King recalled the six regiments in their pay. James had contrived that they should be paid by the French King. For this arrangement no motive can be assigned but a mean parsimony and a readiness to obtain foreign money on any terms of disgrace. He would have wished the French King had maintained them not only at his expense, but in his own dominions, ready at a call to be transported to England, alleging they would be out of the contagion of those principles of liberty which had been so widely disseminated as to have found their way even among the Catholics in England; but Lewis did not think proper to close with this proposal, and they remained in England, though in French pay†.

Not only the commanders of regiments and officers of distinguished but inferior rank were disaffected to the King's service, but some of his principal generals were in correspondence with the Prince, and ready to abandon his

* M^r Pherson's Papers.

† For the whole of the above, see Barillon's Dispatches.

CHAP. II.

1688.

standard on the first occasion. One of these was General Trelawney, brother to the Bishop of Bristol, one of the prelates tried and acquitted. Not only he resolved to join the Prince, but sought to infuse the same resolution into his brother the Bishop. The remorseless Kirk had formed the design of abandoning the sovereign whom he had so much contributed to disgrace; and his memory, along with the load of atrocity and cruelty, has to bear the charge of signal perfidy and ingratitude.—But among these military conspirators, the man whose name was destined to efface all others by its superior splendour, was Lord Churchill, afterwards the great Duke of Marlborough. There is a letter of his to the Prince as early as the month of August, in which, referring to his intended invasion, he unequivocally devotes himself to his service.

Lord Churchill.

Lord Churchill had received many personal favours from the King. He had been taken from the situation of a page at court, and promoted to a peerage and a high command in the army. He had served the King in some of the very worst parts of his political administration; and as far as *political* services extended, seems to have been restrained by no scruples. He had been an active agent in the pecuniary negotiations carried on with the court of France, and a party to all the bargains for money to which James so disgracefully subscribed. But, amidst all the meanness of his political subserviency, his zeal for the national religion was unabated; he remained a steady and zealous Protestant.—Burnet assures us, he all the time repeatedly declared he would no longer serve the King, but withdraw from him, if he was prevailed on to alter the Protestant religion. That zeal for the Protestant religion was a distinguished part of his character, and a main spring of his conduct, we are confirmed in believing, by several passages in the letters he wrote to the Prince of Orange with reference to his undertaking. In one he says, “I thought it my duty to your highness and the Princess Royal, by this opportunity of Monsieur Dyckvelt, to give you assurances under my own hand, that my

places and the King's favour I set at nought, in the comparison of the being true to my religion. In all other things but this, the King may command me." In another, "I being resolved, although I cannot live the life of a saint, if there be ever occasion for it, to show the resolution of a martyr." If, in these times, a statesman and a soldier, educated in the business and gaiety of a court, were to plead religion as an excuse for a breach of any of the duties of private life, the pretence would by all persons be taxed with hypocrisy, and provoke only derision. But, as I have had frequently occasion to remark, the religious temper of the times in which Churchill lived must not be forgotten, and when this is attended to, we shall perhaps be led to a conclusion favourable to his memory. Those who regarded him with partiality, further alleged, that he never betrayed any of the King's secrets; that he was nowise accessory to any of the violent proceedings which occasioned his downfall, but on the contrary, always interposed moderate and salutary advice*. If, notwithstanding these circumstances in his favour, he is still charged with ingratitude, it can only be said, that if it be possible for the widest effulgence of glory, and the most pre-eminent public services to efface or cover a stain of this sort, they did so in the case of Lord Churchill. Not only did Lord Churchill co-operate with the Prince by preparing the army for desertion, but his consort possessed uncontrolled influence over the Princess Anne, and their joint influence and persuasions would dispose her to abandon her father.

The King had intimation of the secret machinations of these general officers, and the Catholics about his person warmly pressed their being seized and sent to Portsmouth, from whence they could be sent over and secured in France. But Sunderland was at that time still listened to, and he contrived to defeat the suggestion. James, in his narrative, says only, "But, on further consideration, he did not

* Burnet.

CHAP. II. think fit to do it." Sunderland's good offices on the occasion are mentioned by Burnet, though the motive not admitted. We are now enabled to trace it. Churchill and the other officers continued to attend the King, prepared to act in favour of the Prince on his landing.

1688.

The Prince
driven
back by a
tempest.

Scarcely had the Prince's fleet commenced its progress on the night of the 19th when the wind shifted to the north and north-west, and a violent storm arose. In the afternoon of the 21st, the signal was made for all the ships to put back, and the next day the greater part had got safely in. Not one was lost, though several suffered severely. About five hundred horses had been thrown overboard. An exaggerated report of the effects of the storm was conveyed to England, and received with great joy and exultation by the King's adherents. The Prince was not displeased that these exaggerations should be circulated, in order to lull the government into a false security. Accordingly by his directions the Dutch gazette increased the gloominess of the picture, and concluded that the design must be abandoned for that year. James heard the intelligence with devout gravity, observing, it was no wonder,—“the host had been exposed for several days.” It was asserted at the time, and Burnet has transmitted the assertion to posterity as a part of history, that the King immediately began to recal his concessions, and in particular put a stop to the reinstatement of Magdalen College. That this reinstatement went sorely against his inclinations we may be allowed to infer from what he confesses*, that he had designed Magdalen as well as Sydney College for breeding up Roman Catholic scholars. There was some foundation for the report so hastily taken up by Burnet, according to his usual fashion of treating reports. Just at the time of the storm there was an interruption in the proceedings towards the reinstatement; but M'Pherson has traced the circumstance to another cause, and has, I think, satisfac-

* M'Pherson, p. 159.

torily shewn that James could not have been apprised of the disaster of the Dutch fleet, when the interruption took place. It may seem strange that Hume should in a great measure have adopted the representation of Burnet; but it cannot be dissembled, his James II. is perhaps the poorest part of his history, not excepting the earliest periods. He seems to have been in a hurry to conclude with a view to publication. His developments of events are in general very superficial and unsatisfactory. There is one fact, however, we have on the authority of Reresby†, that he sent down a special messenger to York, to purge the corporation of the city of Protestants, thrusting out the Mayor and Aldermen, and putting in others in their place, almost all Catholics. The date in the margin is October 4, before the sailing of the Dutch fleet, but not before the King was convinced of the invasion. It is therefore a new proof of his religious obstinacy.

The Prince was nowise daunted by the calamity he had experienced. He was not of a temper to be easily subdued or diverted from his purpose. He superintended in person the necessary repairs, and displayed all that calm unruffled spirit, and fertility of resources for which he was so distinguished. He exerted himself on every side to collect his scattered ships, and reanimate the courage of his men. In a few days the fleet was ready to set sail a second time. During the whole of this anxious interval, the Princess, his consort, remained at the Hague. Her behaviour is, I think, finely drawn by Burnet. The usual coarseness and meanness of his style assumes a character of pleasing simplicity:—"She behaved herself suitably to what was expected from her. She ordered prayers four times a day, and assisted at them with great devotion. She spoke to nobody of affairs, but was calm and silent. The States ordered some of their body to give her an account of all their

CHAP. II. proceedings. She indeed answered little: but in that
——— little she gave them cause often to admire her judgment.”

1688.

If there are any who yet regard the memory of the de-throned King with fondness or partiality, they will interrupt this narrative by maliciously observing, that amidst all this solemn and devout composure, the Princess was meditating the downfall of her aged father, and they will call upon the sentiments of nature against the interest which Burnet would excite. The historian who traces these pages has not learnt his morality in a school which teaches any predilection for what are called public and severe virtues. He will certainly not expatiate upon them at the expense of the softer and more endearing duties and charities of private life;—he does not regard with any fondness or complacency of attention those extraordinary exertions which extraordinary exigencies command;—he would rather paint with the love of an artist the more subdued image of virtue as it displays itself in the common course of human conduct, where nothing glaring offers itself to the eye,—where there is more of shade than light, in the whole execution. Yet he will confess he participates in some of Burnet's enthusiasm for the Princess. The Revolution of 1688 was one of those few occasions in which public good was the paramount consideration. The Princess had great public duties to perform;—she had to rescue from evident destruction that religion which she had been accustomed to revere and cherish as the perfection of Christianity, and with which the religious and civil liberties of mankind were at that time interwoven. Yet I would not pay this homage to her memory if I could allow myself to believe that any thing of a decisive, much less ferocious spirit was predominant in her mind. I persuade myself there was much of a tender melancholy, of a soft dejection in her sentiments, that the feelings of the daughter maintained a struggle in her bosom, and abated whatever was harsh and rugged in the public character she had to assume. I am confirmed in this persuasion by the ac-

count the same Burnet gives of her when he went to take CHAP. II.
 his leave:—"She seemed to have a great load on her spirits, but to have no scruple as to the lawfulness of the design
 1688.
 —she was very solemn and serious, and prayed God earnestly to bless and direct us." She would not have dared to approach the altar of her God and invoke his favour to the enterprise, had she not been supported by a lofty consciousness of great public motives, and had she not been convinced at the same time that her private sentiments could bear the scrutiny of his all-seeing eye. The whole produced the load on her spirits which Burnet mentions, and cast a pensive shade on her features and demeanour.

It was not till the 1st of November that the wind permitted the fleet to sail a second time. The silence and darkness of the night had been chosen on the first occasion, but this time the whole armament moved from the shores of Holland amidst the discharges of cannon, the sound of trumpets and hautboys, the acclamations of the mariners, and of the multitudes who crowded on every side. The rear guard weighed anchor before the night had closed in, about four in the afternoon. The whole was wafted from the anxious gaze of the spectators by a brisk eastern breeze. The transports occupied the centre, and the ships of war stretched to the front and rear. The entire force spread to an extent of twenty miles. Various were the conjectures and reports as to the course it would pursue, and the part of England to which it was destined. These the Prince studied to multiply and perplex, in order to distract the attention of the English government, and induce it to divide its force. He wished it to be believed that he would be entirely determined by the course of the winds, as he was sure of being well received wherever he landed. The north coast of England was at one time most confidently spoken of, Lord Danby wrote strenuously pressing the landing should be there. It is said, he wished to have had the entire management of the Prince, and the enterprise in his own hands. But what-

The Prince
 sails a second time.
 November.

CHAP. II. ever private motives he may have had, his public reasons
— were specious, and carried great weight. He represented
1688.
November. his own interest in Yorkshire to be very considerable.
The gentry in those parts were generally well affected to
the design;—many of them were zealous for it. The
country was plentiful, and the roads to the capital good.
But Admiral Herbert, to whom had been given the com-
mand of all the ships of war attached to the expedition,
and to whose morose humour much deference was paid,
insisted with his usual vehemence, that the fleet would
not be able to ride out on that coast an easterly wind,
which was to be expected during the winter season.
Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the rumour long
continued that this was the destination. The Prince,
whether he hesitated or not upon the subject, strengthened
the opinion by the language he encouraged and the mea-
sures he adopted. Burlington Bay was fixed by persons
supposed to be in his confidence as the place of landing,
and sixty pounds advertised to be given to a master pilot
from Hull. The King of England was induced to move
some troops in that direction, and make preparations.
No small apprehension was entertained of the English
fleet, which was off the Gunfleet on the north-east coast,
in a convenient situation to have intercepted and defeated
the whole enterprise. The same Wildman, whose factious
character has been described, had a little before the
second sailing of the expedition, bestirred himself in his
usual manner, to produce mutiny among the mariners and
troops embarked. Taking advantage of the terrors which
hung over men's minds from the late disaster, he laboured
to possess the English in particular that the design was
now irrecoverably lost. Though the author himself of
the most violent counsels, and on all occasions giving
himself the airs of more intrepidity than the rest, when
it suited his purpose he could assume the language of gloom
and despondency, and by his representations spread conster-
nation on every side. His representations *were entertained*
by many who were willing to hearken to any proposition

that set danger at a distance from themselves. They were CHAP. II.
still magnifying the English fleet, and undervaluing the
Dutch. The words of Burnet exactly describe the con- 1688.
 duct of Wildman's incendiary successors. They expa- November.

But though these were the inflammatory arts of a prac-English
 tised libeller and incendiary, men of the most honourable fleet.
 and well regulated minds embarked in the expedition
 were far from being at their ease respecting the English
 fleet. It is not easy to ascertain with precision the com-
 parative force of the two navies. We learn from Burnet,
 that the Dutch consisted of fifty sail, most of them third
 or fourth rates. Admiral Herbert had been ordered before
 the departure of the transports with the troops to stand
 over to the English coast, observe the English fleet, and
 give them battle if he thought he could do it with success.
 Herbert returned without venturing on an engagement,
 alleging the bad condition of his ships, ill manned, and
 ill equipped. Herbert, however, does not seem to have
 been a very enterprising naval character. There is reason
 to believe the Dutch were upon the whole superior to the
 English. We have the direct authority of Lord Dart-
 mouth, the English admiral, to this effect*. It is further
 confirmed by Albeville, who had means of learning the
 condition of the Dutch before their sailing, and who says
 this was their own opinion. The English fleet never
 equalled them in number of ships. At the time Herbert
 went over to observe them, they were not above eighteen
 or twenty. James tells us, he afterwards increased them
 to thirty sail, with sixteen fire-ships. The ships of war were
 like the Dutch third and fourth rates, nor were they much
 better manned, for recruits to them came in very slowly.

James was rather a favourite with the seamen, having

* Dal. App.

CHAP. II. formerly commanded them ; but they were zealous Protestants, and nothing would satisfy this bigotted Prince but making Catholics of them. He ordered mass to be said regularly on board every ship, having displaced the Protestant chaplain, and put a priest in his room. To crown all, he appointed a Catholic, Sir Roger Strickland, to command the fleet. But the sailors, true to their religion, rose up in open mutiny, and were with difficulty restrained from throwing all the priests overboard. The King went in person to Portsmouth to appease them, called them his children and old friends. They were not insensible to these soothing speeches and caresses. He farther gratified them by taking away the command from Sir Roger Strickland, and giving it to Lord Dartmouth, a zealous Protestant. By this and other concessions to their religious zeal, they were reconciled to their duty ; but like honest Englishmen they could not forbear muttering that they hated the French, and were ready to fight them, but that they did not like to encounter the Dutch who were brother Protestants, and a free people. If such were the equivocal dispositions of the common men, they were no longer equivocal in many of the captains and principal officers. The Duke of Grafton, illegitimate son of the late King Charles, by the Duchess of Cleveland, had obtained leave to go down to the fleet to serve as a volunteer, and made use of the opportunity to spread and confirm the disaffection among them. When Sir Roger Strickland was displaced, he had applied for the command, and was much offended at its being given to Lord Dartmouth. With this motive of pique and personal ambition, many of the religious and public considerations so prevalent at the time probably blended themselves. So busy were his intrigues, and so successful his machinations, that we learn from James himself he had obtained the words of two-thirds of the captains in favour of the Prince of Orange at the time of this last's sailing for England. But James was not so well informed of the proceedings in his fleet as we are at this day. We are in possession

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of the Memoirs of Mr. Byng, afterwards Lord Torrington, CHAP. II.
 the principal agent under the Duke of Grafton, in gaining
 over the captains and officers to the Prince's cause. From ^{1688.} November.

them we learn, that when the fleet was stationed off the Gunfleet, it was proposed in a council of war that it should go over to the coast of Holland, and there wait the motions of the Dutch. The wind at that time permitted their sailing, and they must have come in contact with the Prince's armament, nor were the captains the most favourable to his enterprise, decided whether in the event of an engagement they were not bound in honour to fight their best, and do their duty to the King, whose commissions they bore, and the admiral under whom they served. But these captains availing themselves of a certain lukewarmness in the admiral, succeeded in persuading the council of war, that it would be hazardous to lie off the coast of Holland at that time of the year, and the admiral contented himself with sending three frigates to watch the Dutch. The wind set in immediately after more directly to the east, which carried swiftly the Dutch expedition, and prevented the English admiral from stirring, had he been ever so much inclined. The Dutch passed almost under his very eyes. His cruisers captured a fly boat a league and a half a-head of him. On the third day from its sailing, the Prince's armament was seen proceeding in bulky magnificence through the straits which divide England and France, extending nearly from shore to shore.

Lord Dartmouth had received a multitude of personal ^{Lord Dartmouth.} favours from James, and was no doubt loyally attached to him; but he was withal a zealous Protestant, and regarded the Prince's design with a certain degree of favour like all the other Protestants who wavered between their principles of loyalty and their zeal for their religion. He succeeded in persuading himself, that the Prince would go no farther than concerting arrangements for the security of the Protestant religion, that a happy agreement between him and the King would succeed, and a good

CHAP. II. understanding among all the King's subjects*. It is certain, the experience of history uniformly proves it, no
 1688.
 November. military commander can effectually do his duty who does not with his whole heart and soul hate and detest the enemy he has to combat. We have seen in our own times the effect of appointing men of neutral principles, men who surveyed transactions with candour and impartiality, to important commands. Their intentions may have been honourable; they may not have had the consciousness of neglecting their duty.—But their whole soul was not in the discharge of it; there was a deficiency of zeal, and defeat and miscarriage were the results.

James at an after period seems to have thought Lord Dartmouth could have got out when the Dutch fleet was passing by him, and he was convinced, if the commanders had been true at that time, the armament might have been destroyed, or the landing prevented†. This was his opinion, when he was composing the book of which we have extracts; but we have a letter of his to Dartmouth, dated the 9th of November, expressing himself perfectly satisfied with his conduct. Even after the Prince had passed the English fleet, and abandoned the north-east coast, some uncertainty prevailed as to his ultimate destination. Margate and Ramsgate were mentioned. Dartmouth was led to think he would put in to Rye Bay. When he adopted the resolution of steering to the west is uncertain. The narrative of Burnet, who was in the fleet, and had means of knowing, would persuade us it was his original design before the sailing. Albeville, in a letter of his to Lord Sunderland of the 16th, says this destination was suggested by the advices he received from the coast of England of the King's preparation in the north, and in consequence of observing there was no preparation in the French ports to hinder his navigation. Express boats had been dispatched by the Prince's English friends, to carry

* See a letter of his to Mr. Pepys—M'Pherson's Papers,

† M'Pherson, v. i. p. 159.

to him such intelligence as they thought might be useful. CHAP. II.
 Mr. Hugh Owen, a gentleman of Wales, sailed himself in 1688.
 his yacht from Milford Haven for this purpose. After November.
 the Prince had passed the straits, it was evident he was directing his course to the west. He himself, with a vanguard of three ships of war preceded the armament at some distance. He carried displayed the broad pendant of England, with this animating inscription on his flag:—"For Religion, and for Liberty." The transports followed him, and Herbert with the ships of war hung in the rear to fight the English fleet, should they have commenced a pursuit, and be enabled to overtake them. As the immense array of transports and ships of war moved between Dover and Calais, the people of both the countries crowded the opposite shores with eager curiosity, and indulged wishes and speculations agreeable to the desires of their hearts. In England the general language was—the Prince is coming to maintain the Protestant religion; he will do us no harm. In the capital, however, the sentiment was more decided. The Protestants were every morning seen gazing on the weather-cocks, anxious for an easterly, which was called the Protestant wind. On the other hand, the Catholics pressed in crowds to their chapels, where the host was exposed both day and night. They were unwearied in their prayers and vows for the defeat of the enterprise.

At length it was known, that the Prince had on the 5th The Prince
 of November, the anniversary of the gunpowder plot, a lands at
 day hailed by his followers as auspicious to the Protestant Torbay.
 cause, landed at Torbay.

Lord Dartmouth, by taking advantage of some shifting Manner of
 of the wind, had left his station at the Gunfleet, and sailed his landing.
 after the Prince. He had got as far as the Isle of Wight in pursuit. The Prince proceeding with a brisk easterly breeze had, by the error of the pilot, overshot his mark, and been carried beyond Torbay, and even the port of Dartmouth, when the wind suddenly veering to the west, enabled him to retrace his course, carried him into the

CHAP. II. safe and capacious harbour of Torbay, and stopped the
 ——— pursuit of the English. Bishop Burnet observing the
 1688.
 November. marvels of this long and circuitous navigation, exclaims
 in the words of Claudian, with an allowable enthusiasm :—

“ O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,

“ Et conjurati veniunt in classica venti.”

The shades of night had not yet closed in when the Prince's fleet moved under a prosperous gale into Torbay. The Prince and the Mareschal Schomberg were the first to go on shore. They rode round the bay to find a place for the landing of the cavalry. They were directed to a spot “ that though,” says Burnet, “ we came to it by mere accident, if we had ordered the whole island round to be sounded, we could not have found a properer place for it.” The Prince was more cheerful than usual. He took Burnet by the hand, and asked him, if he would not now believe predestination? Nothing, indeed, but destiny could, it should seem, have rescued him from all the dangers to which so vast an armament, consisting of more than five hundred transports had been exposed. The next morning the cavalry, owing to an extraordinary calmness in the weather, was landed in three hours' time. Proceeds
to Exeter. At noon the army was in full march towards Exeter.

At his approach the Bishop of Exeter fled with the greater number of his clergy. The bishop was immediately rewarded by James with the see of York, which had been long allowed to remain vacant, designed by him, it was supposed, for some Catholic priest. The Prince remained at Exeter ten days before he was joined by any considerable persons from the neighbouring country. The impression which had been made on the people by the miscarriage of Monmouth, and the scenes of judicial murder which had followed it, had not been yet effaced. It kept them suspended in motionless terror. If there had been no other objection to the landing in the west of England, this, as it appears to our distant judgments, would

have been decisive. Even now, after the success of the CHAP. II.
 enterprise, it strikes us in the same light, and nothing but
 the good fortune of England, and the Prince, would have ^{1688.}
 operated against it. The Prince entertained serious ^{November.}
 thoughts of re-embarking, which, had he been compelled
 to, must have been his destruction. Ships and troops had
 been collected at Dunkirk and Calais, which must have inter-
 cepted his return*. Some arrivals from the distant parts
 of England served to support his mind not naturally prone
 to despondency. The principal of these were Lord Col- ^{Arrivals}
 chester, eldest son of the Earl of Rivers, Lord Wharton, ^{to him.}
 Mr. Russell, brother of the unfortunate lord, and the Earl
 of Abingdon. At length the charm was dissolved which
 bound the people of the west. Major Burrington or
 Barrington, whose name well deserves to be rescued from
 oblivion, was the first of the gentry to join the Prince.
 His example was followed by Sir Edward Seymour, a ^{Is at length}
 gentleman of large property in those parts, who had dis- ^{joined by}
 tinguished himself in the last reign by his opposition to ^{the people}
 the Exclusion Bill, and was regarded as one of the most ^{of the}
 eminent Tory commoners in England. He rendered an ^{country.}
 important service to the Prince. He observed, that
 unless all who came in signed the form of an association,
 the whole business was as a rope of sand. Some might
 be with them to-day, and leave them to-morrow. There
 was no engagement, no tie upon any one. The proposal
 was most agreeably received by the Prince. The form ^{Association}
 of an association was drawn up and engrossed upon parch- ^{at Exeter.}
 ment, and signed by all who had joined the Prince's
 standard. The association went no farther than—"to
 stick together in pursuing the ends of the Prince's decla-
 ration, and to revenge any attempts that should be made
 on his life." The declaration, and the ends of it alone
 entered into the contemplation of the subscribers to this
 form. The example of the gentlemen drew in crowds of
 the lower orders, and the Prince, says Burnet, might have

* Dispatch, November 25, 1688.

CHAP. II. raised many regiments of foot among them. He now
 ——— deemed himself sufficiently strong to commence his pro-
 1688.
 November. gress towards the capital, leaving Sir Edward Seymour
 and some others behind him to confirm and extend his
 interest in the west. He was met by a deputation from
 the University of Oxford, the capital of Toryism and
 non-resistance theories, inviting him to that city, and
 offering their plate for his service. It cannot be supposed
 those learned men had so soon entirely abandoned their
 theories. But, like the associators at Exeter, and the
 multitude, they listened only to the suggestions of zeal
 for the Protestant religion, and allowed themselves to
 reflect no farther. Their zeal had been recently thwarted
 and grievously offended by James, who had appointed one
 Hale, Bishop of Oxford, a man who possessed no other
 recommendation but a blind subserviency to his Catholic
 views. When James was assured, that the west was the
 destination of the Prince, he stopped the march of the
 regiments which had been ordered northwards. The
 delay of the Prince at Exeter enabled him to collect his
 troops to the number of twenty-four thousand men on
 Salisbury Plain. Thus was the Prince frustrated of the
 only advantage which can be conceived to have arisen
 from his landing in the west, the marching and assembling
 of the King's forces in another direction.

By comparing the accounts of different historians, we
 cannot estimate the number of troops which attended the
 Prince at his landing, at more than fourteen or fifteen
 thousand men. Colonel Ambrose Norton, whose narra-
 tive has been referred to for another purpose, says he
 learnt from several officers who came over with him, they
 were not more than thirteen or fourteen thousand. I
 happened to meet with a little relation published a few
 years after at the Hague, which carries the number some-
 what higher, but I know of no authority which attaches to
 it, but what may be supposed to arise from the time and
 place of publication. I shall quote the passage out of it
 on this subject, on account of some curious particulars it

contains. After mentioning the five hundred transports, CHAP. II. it adds "on which were embarked sixteen thousand men, including cavalry and infantry, of the best troops of the republic. There were a great number of English and Scotch who had repaired to the Prince's standard, and he took with him as many French Protestants as he could find in Holland and the Electorate of Brandenburg, having likewise invited to his service as many officers among them as had taken refuge in Switzerland, which made up the whole number twenty-one thousand men." This number pretty well accords with the reports which reached Sir John Reresby in Yorkshire*. The most minute precision is certainly desirable on this subject, as every patriot Englishman must be anxious to repel the notion of a settlement imposed upon the kingdom by a foreign force, and vindicate the great event of the Revolution as an act arising from the people of England themselves. Burnet, who was well qualified to give us accurate information, having witnessed all the preparations in Holland, and sailed himself on board the fleet, has, after his usual slovenly manner of writing history, transmitted to us nothing precise or satisfactory. He only says loosely, "that the Prince resolved to carry over to England an army of nine thousand foot, and four thousand horse and dragoons." The number of five hundred transports must appear disproportionate to the carrying of fourteen thousand men, the largest number which any authentic narrative assigns to the expedition. Burnet partly accounts for it by specifying, that though there were only four thousand men in the cavalry, yet there were horses for officers and volunteers, not to mention artillery and baggage, amounting to seven thousand. It cannot be thought wise in the Prince thus unnecessarily to extend his armament, and multiply the dangers of its being defeated or broken. Indeed, with all respect for his memory, it must be confessed, his good fortune is

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* P. 282.

CHAP. II. more to be admired than the prudence or caution with
 — which he conducted his enterprise. His circuitous navi-
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 November. gation in the face of all the ports and harbours in England
 and France, where hostile navies and armies might have
 been collected,—his landing in the west without a previous
 plan of intelligence and co-operation, as was proved by
 the length of time which elapsed before any were found
 to join him; these are criticisms forced on the historian
 by the course of his narrative.

The King's army in England could not be under forty
 thousand men. James himself computes it at that num-
 ber*. There were still divisions in the northern and
 eastern parts, but there were twenty-four thousand men
 collected, as has been said, on Salisbury Plain, to oppose
 the progress of the Prince from the west; a sufficient
 force, observes James†, to deal with him, if they had been
 faithful.—He might have said more truly, if he himself
 had been faithful to them.

The Prince advanced with no small anxiety from
 Exeter, expecting those desertions from the King's army
 which his English partisans had promised him, and without
 which, it was evident, he must be unsuccessful. He had
 the pleasure of learning, that his advanced guard at
 Honiton had been joined by two regiments. These were
 Lord Cornbury's regiment of dragoons, commanded by
 himself, and the Duke of St. Alban's horse, under Lieu-
 tenant-Colonel Langston, who commanded in the absence
 of the Duke. Lord Cornbury was eldest son of Lord
 Clarendon, and nephew to James himself. It has been
 seen, that his father maintained an early correspondence
 with the Prince, and darkly encouraged his design of
 invading England. Cornbury himself frequented the club
 of the disaffected at the Rose in Covent Garden. Lord
 Churchill, who had a high command in the encampment
 at Salisbury, and was not ignorant of the intention which
 the colonels had of deserting, had supplied them with an

* M'Pherson, p. 159.

† Ibid.

opportunity by ordering them out of the camp and placing them at an advanced post. The only way in which the common men could be enticed and drawn on was by fabricated orders from the King to advance, nor were they undeceived till they were got into the Prince's quarters. Even then many of them resisted every temptation to remain; and though, when proof against every mode of reduction, they were plundered and exposed to every species of ill-treatment, they returned to the King's army. They were accompanied in their return by several of the officers. The major of the Duke of St. Alban's, Ambrose Norton, who has been mentioned, was one of them. Lord Cornbury's major, Clifford, suspecting his design on the road to the Prince, left him. He was followed by a great part of the regiment.

James owns the desertions were chiefly among the officers; very few among the common men. They will seldom abandon the sovereign who does not abandon them. There is a principle of attachment to their chief resulting from the system of military discipline, which is sufficient to counteract every artifice employed to seduce them. There may be exceptions to this rule, but in general it may be said, the sovereign who knows how to put his hand on his sword, and shews his soldiers they may rely on his courage, may likewise rely upon them.

James was still in London. The news of the desertion of the two regiments, exaggerated as is usual on such occasions by report, had a prodigious effect on the minds of men, in persuading them of the extreme danger of his situation. Whether under this impression, or from a wish often observable of increasing the perplexities of those who are already embarrassed, the two archbishops and many of the bishops came to him in a body, and pressed him to call a free parliament. The King answered with much spleen and ill-humour, that "it would have better become them to publish their abhorrence of the invasion." A petition to the same import was presented to him signed by a number of the temporal peers. The petition had been

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CHAP. II. first suggested by Lord Halifax and Lord Nottingham.—

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November. They were, in truth, the composers as well as promoters of it; yet, when they observed the name of Lord Rochester among the signatures to it, they refused themselves to sign it, declaring they would not be partakers in any measure with one who had been of the court of ecclesiastical commission. This was the first, and may be regarded as the last instance of retrospective resentments. Perhaps these lords made use of the petition as a mode of reproach to the King, to add to his perplexity and alarms. That these alarms were considerable may be inferred from his sending off his infant son under an escort of horse to Lord Dartmouth, then at Portsmouth, with orders to have him forthwith conveyed to France; but they did not produce any abatement of his religious zeal. On leaving London to join his army at Salisbury, it was necessary for him to appoint commissioners for the government during his absence. He did not forget to include two Catholic noblemen in the number, Lords Bellasis and Arundel. There were thirty or forty priests regularly with him every day at dinner, and a jesuit to say grace.

Something like spirit he displayed on setting off. He called together the principal officers who were yet in London, and after assuring them of his determination to call a free parliament, and ratify such measures as might be deemed necessary for the security of his people, he offered passes to any who had a mind to go over to the Prince of Orange, which might spare them the shame of deserting their lawful sovereign.

His absence, and the want of confidence in his own means of defence which he exhibited, had assisted the arts of the disaffected, and considerably increased the disposition to abandon his standard in his army at Salisbury. The evening of his arrival, a number of the officers waited upon Lord Feversham, the general, and declared they could not in conscience fight against the Prince. The common men, however, were still for the most part steady to their duty. Feversham proposed dismissing the greater

number of the officers, and appointing trusty sergeants in CHAP. II.
their places. This arrangement might have confirmed
the crown on the head of James. His affairs were by no 1688.
November.
means irretrievable;—nothing was wanting but a bold or
wise counsel to save him; but he was equally incapable
of one or the other. His mind was engrossed by all the
minute superstitious practices and ceremonies of his reli-
gion. He sent off an express with much precipitation and
bustle to the French ambassador, to inform him of what?
—that he had found his army animated by sentiments of
loyalty and attachment to his person, that he was redoubling
his exertions to inspire them with confidence and zeal?
—no, but that he had just received a letter from Lord
Thomas Howard at Rome, to let him know the Pope had
been pleased to accept his mediation in the affair of the
franchises, a matter of local jurisdiction at that time in
dispute between his Holiness and the King of France*.
Almost all his letters to the Prince of Orange during the
year 1688, are taken up, not with the affairs of his king-
dom, or the dangers he apprehended might menace his
authority, but with news of the Turkish war, and prayers
for the discomfiture of the infidels. He was advised to
remain at Salisbury, and Lord Churchill, he says, was
particularly earnest in urging this counsel. Whatever
were Lord Churchill's motives, the advice seems to have
been spirited and salutary. No reason appears to us
why James should have retreated before a far inferior
force. It was evidently spreading discouragement and sus-
picion among all ranks of his army. He thought proper,
notwithstanding these considerations, to close with the
suggestion of Feversham and some French officers who
attended him, and were persuaded they were serving their
own country in prolonging the state of indecision which
seemed to hang over the affairs of England. After remain-
ing at Salisbury six days without doing or attempting any
thing, though he knew the Prince was advancing, he fell

* Dispatch, Nov. 22.

CHAP. II, back with the greater part of his army to London, and had

not gone a day's journey when he ordered the retreat of
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November, the rest. The soldiers were still so sound and well-affected
that they are said to have received the orders with transports of tears and rage.

Before James quitted Salisbury, Lord Churchill went over to the Prince. If we did not know he had long entertained this design, we might think he was prompted by the spiritless and ignominious conduct of the King. He left behind him a letter, which shews he plainly discerned what must be the event of the invasion. He did not entrench himself behind the ignorance which others really were in, or affected. His letter disclosed, that a change of masters must be the result. The words were, "He could not expect such favours under any other government as he had received from him."

James says, that Schomberg told him on his arrival, "that he was the first lieutenant-general he had ever heard that had deserted his colours." Little did Schomberg think when he was speaking these words he was addressing the first captain of his age. Generals Trelawney and Kirk followed the example of Churchill. In his progress, the Prince received a letter from the Bishop of Bristol, Trelawney's brother, by which it appears the general had overcome his scruples, and persuaded him to approve of an enterprise, which had for its object "the preservation of the Protestant religion, the laws and the liberties of this kingdom." Immediately after the landing, Lord Shrewsbury, attended by Sir John Guize, had proceeded to the city of Bristol and taken possession of it for the Prince. The bishop gave him every assistance in his power.

The King's retreat was a signal for all who hesitated to declare themselves, and to all who were determined, boldly to take up arms. The Earl of Bath was governor of Plymouth, a garrison town situated in the rear of the Prince, and which might have been of no inconsiderable molestation to him. The Earl had, indeed, carried on an intercourse

with him before his leaving Holland, but was so little CHAP. II.
determined, that if the Prince had been carried on further
to the west by the error of the pilot, and the continuance
of the easterly winds, and obliged to put into Plymouth, 1688.
Burnet is inclined to think, he would not have received December.
him, and the whole attempt had been defeated. But
assuming courage from the pusillanimity of the King, and
concluding his downfall was inevitable, the Earl of Bath
not only declared for the Prince, but secured the Earl of
Huntingdon and all the Catholic officers and privates and
kept them prisoners. At the same time, Lord Delamere,
in Lancashire, scoured the country at the head of a body
of armed men, and extended his warfare to the neigh-
bouring county of Cheshire, every where demolishing the
chapels and imprisoning the Catholics. In the north,
Lords Danby and Lumley seized the cities of York
and Newcastle. James had early appointed a Catholic
governor to Hull, Lord Langdale; but this did not prevent
Colonel Copley from securing the place for the Prince.
Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, under Lord Devonshire,
were in a complete state of insurrection. In Nottingham-
shire appeared a declaration, which alone, of all the public
papers published at that time, proceeded on the broad
popular principles asserted by the Whigs, and shewed the
ascendant of that party in that district of England. It
stated, "that they did, indeed, own it to be a rebellion
to resist a king governing by law, but not to resist a tyrant
who made his will the law." The gentry of Somerset-
shire and Dorsetshire waited upon the Prince in a body
and crowded round his standard. Norfolk was engaged
in his interests by the duke of that name.

As the King retired upon London, whole companies and
regiments abandoned him. The men testified reluctance,
but his ignominious flight added so much to the arts and
persuasions of the officers, that they were persuaded. The
contagion spread to the fleet, which was well prepared to
receive it. Even the admiral, Lord Dartmouth, adopted
a very ambiguous conduct, and by his example rather

CHAP. II. encouraged than restrained the dispositions of the captains
 1688.
 December. and inferior officers. He excused himself from obeying the King's order for sending the young prince to France, alleging the want of a sufficient warrant for his legal justification. Byng, and some other of the captains in the Prince of Orange's interests, had taken measures to intercept him had he put to sea, and it may be regarded as a circumstance in the prosperous destinies which attended the Revolution in its whole progress, that they were disappointed in their design, as the person of the young prince would have proved an insurmountable obstacle in the way of its completion. Byng was afterwards fully sensible of this, and confesses, that what he felt as a disappointment at the time, was a great instance of good fortune; "since their being possessed of the Prince's person must have perplexed the affairs then in hand."

Dartmouth, when stopped in the pursuit of the Dutch fleet, put into Portsmouth to refit the damages he said he had sustained. After staying there some time, he sailed again, and looked into Torbay, where lay the whole Dutch squadron, which he might have destroyed. Under some pretext or other, he refused to attack it, and returned to Portsmouth, from whence he wrote a letter to the Prince, professing himself ready to obey his orders*. He accordingly exerted himself against the Irish and Catholics in the place, and advised sending garrisons to Jersey and Guernsey to secure them from the French. This conduct was scarcely ambiguous, but decisive in favour of the Prince. The captains no longer deemed themselves restrained from manifesting their inclinations and fulfilling their engagements. Captain Churchill, brother to the lord, was the first who joined the Dutch with his ship.

The King, in his retreat from Salisbury, passed the first night at Andover. That very night, Prince George of Denmark, married to his daughter the Princess Anne, accompanied by the Duke of Ormond, after supping with

* M'Pherson, v. i. p. 298.

him, deserted over to the Prince of Orange.—There is a letter from the Princess Anne, mentioning Prince George would attend the King to Salisbury, but would leave him as soon as he had an opportunity*.—On his arrival in London the King found his daughter, the Princess, had herself gone off. It was not immediately known where she was gone to; and her uncle, Lord Clarendon, attended by her nurse, went up and down in a state of real or simulated distraction, exclaiming the Papists had murdered her; but intelligence quickly arrived she had taken refuge in Northampton. Her flight had been concerted between Lady Churchill and the Bishop of London. They both attended her to Northampton, as she did not judge it right immediately to join the Prince of Orange. Here a party of volunteers gathered round her person, and exercised authority over the town and country. The Bishop, who in his youth had been a cornet of dragoons, was seen at their head with a drawn sword in his hand, and a case of pistols in his saddle.

The King, though in general not very much alive to the tender feelings of nature, is said to have received the intelligence of his daughter's having abandoned him, with real grief and anguish. The interval since he had left his capital had not tended to raise the respect for his person or strengthen his authority. With depressed spirits and every appearance of fallen greatness, he summoned an assembly of the peers. He felt himself under the necessity of apologizing to them for the little attention he had before paid to their petition. He addressed himself almost in terms of supplication to the old Earl of Bedford, and the venerable nobleman was reminded of a much cherished son, whom James had in a former period of his life been instrumental in depriving him of. His abject state did not escape the observation of the assembled peers, and some of them were ungenerous enough to add to his mortification. Lord Clarendon, who ought to have

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* November 18.—Dal. App.

CHAP. II. been restrained, if not by respect for his sovereign, yet by
the feelings of a near relative, expressed himself in ex-
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December. tremely offensive terms. The majority, however, observed
the strictest propriety in their *manner*. The advice which
they delivered with one voice, was in *substance* suffici-
ently bitter to James, and he felt it coming upon him
with the weight, and almost in the tone of a command.
They desired him to grant a free pardon to all the Prince's
adherents, to assemble a parliament, send commissioners
to treat with the Prince, and turn all Papists out of
employment.—Whatever secret reluctance he might have
felt, he expressed himself willing to give them satisfaction
on all their demands except the last. On this no promise
could be extorted, or, by any persuasion, obtained from
him. He was ready to forfeit his crown rather than injure
his brethren in faith and sentiments.—Writs were issued
for a parliament, and the meeting of it fixed to the 15th
of the succeeding January. Lords Halifax, Nottingham,
and Godolphin, were appointed commissioners to proceed
and confer with the Prince.—The intelligence of these
events took off all restraint, wherever a sentiment of
attachment for the Prince lurked in the minds of men.
He was looked upon as publicly recognized—a principal
personage in the expected settlement of the kingdom.
The fleet unanimously voted him an address of thanks.

He was in full march towards the capital, and his march
had more the appearance of a peaceable progress through
the kingdom, than of the advance of an armed force.
Multitudes flocked from all sides to pay their respects to
him, and even from London, where the King was, daily
arrived persons of the first distinction. He received the
visitants from all parties in the state with equal affability
and courtesy. Though of a character not easily submit-
ting to the arts of popularity, he condescended, wherever
he met an assemblage of the people, to bow to them with
his hat off, calling to them, he came to defend their reli-
gion and liberties.—This obsequious and caressing man-
ner was not perfectly easy or natural to him, but it was

accompanied by acts which flowed more spontaneously. CHAP. II.
He took particular care to preserve the strictest discipline
in his army, and protect the lives and properties of all, ^{1688.} December.
without distinction. Those who, from any motive fled
at his approach, found, on their return, their dwellings had
experienced no manner of spoliation. The people of the
country were encouraged to bring in provisions to his
camp by the punctuality with which they were paid the
price of them.—No blood was shed during the whole of
the Prince's march, except on occasion of two slight
skirmishes with some detachments of the King's army
that were tardy, or happened to straggle in his retreat.
One occurred at Winkington in Dorsetshire, and the other
at Reading. It was propitiously ordained by Providence
that the beautiful and smiling land of England should not
be a theatre for civil contention, and the nation should
obtain its liberties without paying the forfeit usually
annexed to this blessing.

The surrender of Plymouth, and still more particularly
the news from the fleet, were a great relief to the Prince's
mind. He saw every thing secure behind him, and he
felt no anxiety for the ships which had brought him.—
He was further cheered and animated by the ready sub-
mission, the cordial reception of all the counties through
which his march lay.

When the King consented to appoint commissioners
to treat with the Prince, the greatest fear and alarm pre-
vailed among the zealous friends and partisans of the
latter, and of the national rights, lest he might be pre-
vailed upon to stop his advance, lest conferences might
be set on foot that should draw to great length, and ter-
minate in a sort of compromise or accommodation, which
should leave the King in possession of his crown, affecting
to raise insurmountable barriers and effectual securities
around him. They discovered the King was willing to pur-
chase an accommodation at the price of any sacrifices,—
“to be reduced to the state of a Duke of Venice, com-
mitting all the power of war and peace, and of making all

CHAP. II. officers, ecclesiastical and civil, to the Prince for his life—
 1688.
 December. time ; or that he would consent to bills in parliament for that purpose, and to all other bills that should be offered for the security of religion and civil rights.”—At the same time they were persuaded that these terms would be wholly illusory ; that as long as James retained any portion of authority whatsoever, or even the title of King, or remained in the kingdom, he would find means, sooner or later, to overturn all these pretended securities, and hurried along by the violence of his religious zeal, sacrifice every thing to it.—They were therefore particularly anxious that the Prince should not suspend his march to the capital under any pretence that should be held out to him of conferences or peace ; they even intimated to him their opinion that he should make an open declaration of his design to assume the crown, as the only effectual means of securing the nation against the return of the misgovernment which they had experienced. These sentiments are painted in a very lively manner in two letters addressed to the Prince, one from the Bishop of St. Asaph, another, a very curious one without a signature, but, from the tenor of it, evidently coming from a person of high rank*. It is probable that thoughts to the same effect were revolving in the mind of the Prince, and that he was determined to seat himself upon the throne ; but he did not judge the conjuncture at all ripe for the disclosure of his intentions. He observed the greater number of those who followed him with the warmest professions of attachment were induced to do so by the light in which they had accustomed themselves to regard him as a mediator between the King and his Protestant people, as one coming to secure religion without infringing on the old foundations. He was persuaded these were the sentiments of a large majority of the nation.

When, therefore, any rumour arose among his troops insinuating he was to be king, both he and his favourite

* Dal. App.

Bentinck, directly interfered to silence the forward loqua-
 city of those who thought to recommend themselves by
 the propagation of such opinions. They even went so
 far as publicly to declare they were wholly alien from his
 intentions. The plan which was deemed the most advi-
 sable, and which the event approved of, was to multiply the
 terrors of the King till they induced him to leave the
 kingdom, as it were, of his own accord. This would lay
 open the throne, and prepare the way for the gratification
 of the Prince's views, and the fulfilment of the wishes and
 expectations of those who would be satisfied with nothing
 short of a real and effectual Revolution.

Lord Halifax, the very night after he had been named
 by the King one of his commissioners, communicated to
 one of the Prince's friends his intention of betraying his
 master, and promoting the Prince's views*. The com-
 missioners set forward to execute their commission. The
 Prince, in pursuance of the plan concerted between him
 and his advisers, refused under various pretexts to admit
 them to an interview; but, as if he would listen to no
 terms, continued advancing with his army, which every
 day gathered fresh strength and spirits. At last at Hun-
 gerford he received the commissioners. Lord Halifax,
 agreeably to the design he had conceived before he left
 London, sought the occasion of a private audience, to
 know in what manner the Prince desired to be served;
 whether he wished to have the King in his hands. He
 was readily answered, there was nothing the Prince
 dreaded so much—nothing which would so perplex and
 embarrass him. Then he would have him frightened away:
 —the very thing desired†. Halifax lost no time in pursuing
 this suggestion. He wrote a private, and as it were a con-
 fidential letter to James, couched in obscure and myste-
 rious language, calculated, from its very obscurity, to sink
 deeper the alarm, intimating there was a secret design
 against his life‡.—When the Prince delivered his terms in

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* Anonymous Letter, Dal. App.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 433.

‡ Reresby, p. 311.—D'Orléans, p. 200.

CHAP. II. public, he affected to make them particularly strong and peremptory in substance, and still more so in the form and language. He required that all Papists should be forthwith disarmed; that James should issue a formal declaration, refusing all assistance from abroad; that all the strong places in the kingdom should be immediately put into his possession. He himself was to go up to London and reside there during the sitting of parliament, attended by a body of guards equal to the King's, his army receiving pay and maintenance all the while.

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The events that were passing assisted the design of these haughty propositions.—James's terrors had already risen to a very high pitch. The news of revolts and desertions which every day crowded upon him, the flight of some of his most trusted servants, and even of members of his family, the spirit hostile to the inveterate purpose of his heart manifested by his soldiers and sailors, the going over of some entire regiments, and the almost surrender of his fleet; all these circumstances combined with a thousand imaginations of what he observed in his capital. The approach of his nobles he regarded as marked with characters which warned him of his fate.—The ungenerous and unfriendly were presumptuous and insolent; the faithful and the well-wishers bending with dejection. The populace, even before his eyes, expressed by a thousand outrages and excesses, their confirmed hatred of priests and Papists; and by an easy inference of fear, what had only his religion for its object, he considered as levelled against his person.—At this critical point of time, one of the Prince's followers ventured upon an act, which, without receiving any encouragement from him, or, it is probable, having been previously communicated to him, marvellously fell in with the progress of his designs.

Among the disorderly troop that were gathered about his standard, there was a person of the name of Speke, a native of Somersetshire, some of whose family had suffered severely after the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion. Whether goaded by the memory of these sufferings, or

being of a daring profligate character, from the usual forward impulse of such characters, he bethought himself of forging and publishing, in the Prince's name, a declaration, wherein the Prince appeared to have resigned all regard to moderation, and abandoned all terms of amicable adjustment. The declaration inveighed against Papists without measure, and ordered military execution upon them, and all who should so much as *assist or obey them*. It spoke in the most indecent terms of James, and his ally the King of France. This paper was carried as the declaration of the Prince to the lord mayor of London. The populace, who only wanted a signal, readily took it, to give the rein to their riotous dispositions. They assembled round the chapels, and amidst their curses and maledictions displayed a spirit from which every excess was to be apprehended, now it seemed to have received the countenance of authority. The priests and Catholics in general were in the highest degree of consternation. The priests crowded round James, and entreated him to fly. They promised themselves a more distinguished reception at the court of the French monarch, if they succeeded in bringing their King along with them. Golden dreams of wealth and honours abroad opened on their heated fancies, which were to succeed the anxiety and insecurity they laboured under in England. The French ambassador had all along persuaded himself a great part of the nation would divide with the King, and he was led to think his absence would only have the effect of giving a more violent ferment to the general confusion, and of ranging the people under opposite standards, under which circumstances of civil war, James would have recourse to French assistance, and admit French troops, as the most effectual means of turning the balance in his favour*.—With so sanguine a prospect before him, he supported the representations of the priests, anxious to atone in the opinion of his master, by leaving a civil war behind him, for the

* Burnet.

CHAP. II. want of discernment and foresight with which he might be
 ——— reproached in his previous communications. But the chief
 1688.
 December. instrument in persuading James was the Queen, who was
 oppressed with the terrors of a parliamentary impeachment
 which she was told had often reached queens of England.
 His own terrors had been so wrought up as materially to
 affect his health, and almost disorder his understanding*.
 He was frequently seized with fits of bleeding in the nose,
 which added physical exhaustion to all the causes which
 preyed upon his mind. Pressed by his friends and the
 artful suggestions of his enemies, he determined on a step
 which could alone consummate the hopes of the latter,
 and displace him and his posterity from the throne of the
 British islands.

When he had received the excuses of Lord Dartmouth
 to convey the Prince of Wales out of the kingdom, he had
 judged it expedient to have him brought up to the
 capital, and had accordingly sent a party of Irish dragoons
 to escort him from Portsmouth. Having yielded to the
 resolution of flying himself, he thought of removing the
 Queen and the young Prince as a preliminary step. On
 the 6th of December, in the evening, they left Whitehall,
 and crossed the Thames in an open boat, attended by a
 French nobleman, Count Lauzun. The night was dark
 and tempestuous;—a heavy rain fell, accompanied by a
 high wind. A common coach was to wait for them on
 the Surrey side of the river; but by some accident or
 other, which delayed the coach, an hour passed before it
 came to meet them. The Queen lay all this time under
 the walls of an old church at Lambeth with her child, only
 four months old, in her arms. Getting into the coach
 she proceeded to Gravesend, where a vessel had been
 appointed to receive her, which landed her at Calais.

James did not attempt to fly till the Prince's answer to
 the commissioners reached him. He had, however, given
 a solemn promise to the Queen, before her departure, to

* Reresby, p. 312.

follow her without delay. He knew how to hide his intention with all that little hypocrisy and deceit, at which little minds are always found the most expert.

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He read the Prince's answer aloud in public, and said with an air of great satisfaction, that he had not expected such good terms. He whispered to Lord Mulgrave, his chamberlain, that he had received privately excellent news from his commissioners. He ordered the lord chancellor to attend him next morning, but requested he would leave the great seal with him. He then withdrew, as if for the night; but at three in the morning of the 11th of December, he descended by a private staircase to the river, where Sir Edward Hales was in waiting for him, whom he had appointed to be his companion. He was rowed over to Vauxhall, took horse there, and hastened to go on board a custom-house hoy which lay off Feversham, and had been hired to convey him to France. His flight could not be concealed from the Duke of Northumberland, the lord in waiting; but he laid an express injunction on him not to mention what he saw till the next morning. In the morning the palace was crowded as usual, when Northumberland coming out of the King's chamber, announced that he was gone.—Northumberland considering his duty to him at an end, went straight from the palace, and putting himself at the head of his troop of guards, declared for the Prince.

James's plan, on abandoning his capital and kingdom, was to leave every thing in as much confusion as possible, and as far as in him lay, entirely to dissolve the Government, which, he had been persuaded, must compel the people to invite him back, and he might re-ascend the throne in all the plenitude of his power. For this purpose, some time before his departure he destroyed the writs which had been issued for a parliament; and in his passage to Vauxhall he threw into the river the great seal, which he had inveigled from the chancellor, as he was leaving him at night.

The loss of this seal, he promised himself, would operate

CHAP. II. as magic, and effectually complete the work of disorder he
 ————— was desirous of bequeathing to his people*. But he was
 1688.
 December. more successful in destroying the remains of his authority.
 He left a letter with Lord Feversham, in which he said
 “he did not expect the troops to expose themselves at
 present.”—These words Feversham construed into an
 authority for disbanding the army, which would have still
 fought for the King.—Barillon, who staid to witness the
 scene, tells us, nothing could equal the indignation of the
 common soldiers, when they heard the order for dis-
 banding them read†.

The day of James's departure part of his design seemed
 to have succeeded. The populace were ready enough to
 assist him in dissolving the Government, or even the whole
 frame of society. Whatever control may be supposed to
 have arisen from his presence was withdrawn. They pro-
 ceeded to execute what they had before only threatened;—
 they demolished the chapels, hunted the priests, and did
 not spare the houses of ambassadors; yet it is a pleasing
 circumstance for the historian to record, that amidst all
 this uproar and riot not a single drop of blood was shed;
 “nor,” says Burnet, who was near the spot at the time,
 “were any houses burnt, or any robberies committed;” and
 at this very time there was a report circulated among the
 populace, and generally believed, which probably in any
 other country would have converted the city into one
 scene of bloodshed and destruction.

There were many Irish Catholics dispersed up and down
 the different regiments that were in no small state of insub-
 ordination, expecting every hour to be disbanded. The
 same audacious incendiary, Speke, who had forged and
 published the Prince's declaration, immediately set on
 foot a report, and had it busily propagated, that these men,
 united by their country and religion, had got together in
 a body and begun a general massacre of the Protestants.

The humanity, in some degree the moderation, of an

* Dispatch, December 27.

† December 22.

English mob has been at all times remarkable. There is CHAP. II.
a testimony on this subject, which may be seen in Lord
Danby's Letters, and which, though it refers to another 1688.
period, I cannot, for the honour of my country, forbear December.
transcribing.—In the reign of Charles II. Barillon, the
French ambassador, went for amusement to see the cere-
mony of what was called a pope-burning: "He won-
dered," says the relator, (one Brisbane,) "when I told him
no manner of mischief was done, not so much as a head
broke; but in three or four hours the streets were all quiet
as at other times. 'It would not have been so in Paris,'"
he said.—I know, the French ambassador in London,
during the peace of 1802, delivered himself in much the
same terms, after witnessing a very tumultuous and dis-
orderly election. He expressed his admiration, that
crowds, which in other countries would be thought to
threaten a subversion of the Government, and a revolution,
were, in England, dispersed without much difficulty by a
few constables' staves.

It is a matter of pride and exultation to the true English
heart to have to compare the testimonies of two French
ambassadors, at the distance of more than a century from
each other, and find them agreeing in the same interesting
conclusion.

We may be allowed to indulge the fond hope and
belief, that there is something in the genial institutions
and customs of our beloved country which infuses a soft-
ness and kindness into the hearts of men, which disposes
the lowest and most uneducated to forgiveness and mercy.
As in the contests of their superiors they do not see
bloody punishments inflicted; as the responsibility, which
by the terms of the constitution hangs over ministers, is
not an instrument for party cruelty and revenge; the fall
from power is not a forerunner of death; the unfortunate,
and even in some degree offending statesmen, is per-
mitted to bury his misfortunes, his errors, and his faults,
in a respected retirement; the manners of the lower
orders are softened, they imbibe a repugnancy to the

CHAP. II. effusion of blood; a humanity is displayed by the most
tumultuous and riotous populace which foreigners gaze at
with admiration and wonder.

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It was a delightful spectacle in our times, to behold the author of the unfortunate American War, to whom manifold errors of judgment and conduct could be imputed, but no crime, no guilt, no perfidy or treachery, safe and respected amidst the triumph of his enemies; his public enemies becoming his private friends, embellishing by the society of congenial tastes and studies his elegant retirement. What, then! is *responsibility* a mere word? Yes, it is a word of salutary terror, not to display itself in all its effects and latent capacities, but reserved for occasions not to be supposed in argument and discourse, of resistless magnitude and necessity. It is not a dagger to be alternately wielded by contending parties—this day victorious—the next defeated. Were ever this to be the unfortunate condition of our country, could we suppose the fell war-whoop of some of our factious writers ever to prevail? and vengeance and death to be dealt round upon ministers as soon as they were unfortunate, agreeably to the savage wishes these writers daily proclaim. Then, indeed, we should not have to boast that purity from blood which is the bright ornament of our history. An English mob would be cruel and ferocious, like the mobs of other countries, and the murders of the tumult would be the harbingers and preludes of the more regular murders of abused and perverted forms. What different proceedings and events have I the pleasing task to narrate!

When James meditated his departure, he gave secret warning to such of his friends as he was anxious to save, that they might effect their escape in time. Father Petre he particularly admonished to remove himself. Jefferies he left to his fate.—Thus abandoned, and even deceived by the sovereign whom he appears to have served zealously, though not wisely or virtuously, this unfortunate lawyer was compelled to disguise himself as well as he could by cutting off his eye-brows, and in the habit of a common sailor

seek to escape to Wapping to look for a ship. Notwith-CHAP. II.
standing his disguise, he was recognised by the populace
and carried before the lord mayor. It is related, that no ^{1688.} December.
sooner was the hat, which was flapped down upon his
face, lifted up, and the pusillanimous magistrate beheld a
countenance which he had been used to contemplate with
terror, than he fell into fits, of which he soon after expired.
No attempt was made on the life of Jefferies by the
unruly populace into whose hands he had fallen. He
was, however, very roughly treated, as might have been
expected in the crowd, and pressing round him. He was
sent to the Tower, more as it should seem for protection
from the populace, than with a view to any future accu-
sation or punishment. He is said to have died of the
bruises he received in the tumult to which he had been
exposed, but nothing like assassination or massacre can be
imputed to the multitude on the occasion. Father Petre
had not availed himself of the timely warning he had
received. Whether he made any attempt to escape, we
know not, but we learn he was found in London after the
departure of his master*. We do not find he was in any-
wise disturbed. He had subjected himself to graver ani-
madversion than the resentments of the populace. He
had been guilty of a positive act of delinquency by taking
his seat in the privy council in defiance of law; but the
English statesmen who were invested with power at
the time, regarded his defenceless, unprotected state as a
reason for forgiveness and mercy. They were determined
no act which could bear the character of revenge should
mingle in the triumph of liberty and virtue.

The Catholics were particularly exposed to the male-
volence of the rabble. Every inflammatory artifice had
been employed by a few bad men against them. The
rumour set on foot by Speke has been mentioned. Yet,
without a single exception, not one of them lost his life
by the hands even of the rabble, nor suffered any injury
but general disturbance. The Prince, indeed, from the

* Reresby, p. 298.

CHAP. II. time of his landing had been particularly anxious to protect them. “He ordered me, as we came along,” says

1688.
December. Burnet, “to take care of the Papists, and to secure them from all violence.” For fear of any possible attempt at violence from the multitude, it had been judged prudent to lodge two of their bishops in Newgate, after the disappearance of James. Lest the name of Newgate should carry the notion of punishment, Burnet was ordered to go and visit them, and assure them in the Prince’s name, that they should be well used, and care taken of them. All their friends were admitted to see them. No one who wished to leave the kingdom was refused a passport. In the whole progress of this holiest and purest of revolutions, unstained by a single act of cruelty or barbarity, it may be said, by a single drop of blood, was exemplified the old good nature and old good honour of Englishmen, expressions so sweet and endearing of Lord Clarendon.

As soon as the news of the King’s flight was spread abroad, the prelates and lords in town communicated with each other, and by ten o’clock the same morning a sufficient number was assembled at the Guildhall. They sent for the lord mayor and aldermen, and assumed the authority of a provisional government for the preservation of the peace of the city and the general regulation of the kingdom in the absence of the supreme magistrate. The first object which attracted their attention was the Tower of London, which, in the hands of James’s adherents excited no small terror and agitation in the minds of the good citizens. One of the last acts of his government was to deliver Sir Bevil Skelton whom he had sent a prisoner there, under counsels he had discovered to be sinister and perfidious; and, as some atonement and compensation, appoint him governor, giving him command where he had been in a state of humiliation and duress. Archbishop Sancroft felt himself authorised to go in person directly from the assembly at Guildhall, and summon Sir Bevil in the name of the council of Peers to deliver up the keys. Sir Bevil made no resistance, and the government of it was given by the Peers to Lord Lucas, in whom they placed

trust. The first use made of it was to open its gates to CHAP. II.
the late Chancellor Jefferies, as has been related.

The peers that had assembled at the Guildhall formed themselves into a regular council or committee of government, and chose Lord Halifax for their chairman. After taking measures for the tranquillity of the city, they deemed it expedient to draw up a declaration, inviting the Prince to assume the exercise of the government till the meeting of a parliament, and to this declaration they all affixed their signatures. At the head of them appeared that of Archbishop Sancroft, made remarkable by his subsequent conduct. At the same time the council dispatched their orders to the fleet and the different garrisons in England. They raised the militia and concerted arrangements for the disbanding of the army. The administration of affairs proceeded as if in the usual channels. The Prince had advanced to Henley, where he received the declaration of the council. All the principal officers in the army had assembled, and sent up an address to him assuring him of their readiness to obey his orders. He continued his march without any appearance of hurry and impatience, and had reached Windsor when he was met by a most unwelcome piece of intelligence, which put all the firmness of his temper to the trial.

As the hoy which was to convey James to France was waiting for the tide, it was boarded by some fishing-boats from Feversham, who were occupied in looking out for fugitive priests, or in the cant phraseology of the time, a *priest-codding*. The fishermen did not know the King, but supposing the whole party to be Papists making their escape, they secured them and carried them to Feversham. The King was after some time recognised, but not before he had experienced some rude treatment from the rabble who crowded into town on the occasion. He immediately wrote to London a letter containing an account of his situation, and entrusted it to a countryman to carry. The council was sitting when the messenger arrived. When his errand was known, all who knew the Prince's wishes

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CHAP. II. and design were struck with inexpressible consternation.

——— Lord Halifax could not disguise his vexation and ill-
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December. humour. He is said to have actually proposed to the council to break up without hearing the messenger, but that, of course, could not be done. The messenger delivered the letter, which was read.—It ran in these words:—"The King acquaints the reader, that he has been discovered in his retreat by some fishermen of Kent, and secured at first there by the gentry, who were yet forced afterwards to resign him into the hands of an insolent rabble." The members of the council, though of very discordant sentiments and views, and seeing the transaction in very different lights, were however all melted by this short picture of the vicissitudes of human fortune. Such an address from distressed royalty made its way to every heart. All considerations of policy were suspended. Lord Feversham was ordered, without a moment's hesitation, to proceed with two hundred of the life-guards and protect the King from all violence. The partisans of the Prince contrived to insert a clause in the order which had the appearance of liberality and kindness, but was dictated by a very different motive, that the King should be at liberty to return or quit the kingdom, as he thought proper. This was to tempt him to proceed on his voyage. He, however, thought proper to return to London. In the nature of things, a more untoward accident could not have happened, more signally mortifying and perplexing to the Prince. Had James's flight not have been prevented, the loftiest monarchy men would have overlooked all the circumstances of compulsion attending the transaction, and persuaded themselves he had resigned the sceptre to be disposed of as they deemed best. By this sort of opiate would their sickly consciences, which already began to betray some squeams before his departure, have been composed and quieted. The march of the Revolution would have encountered no obstacle or embarrassment, and an easy way opened to the Prince to ascend the throne. We cannot doubt that things would have fallen into this train

when we see Archbishop Sancroft with his high monarchical principles, who was afterwards the founder of the party of the *nonjurors*, proceeding the very morning in which James left his palace to displace his governor and seize his garrison, and appear foremost among those who invited the Prince to the government.

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The multitude who were wholly unacquainted with the Prince's views, were persuaded the news of the King's being stopped would be in the highest degree gratifying to him. Two gentlemen from the coast of Kent resolved to be the first to communicate the agreeable tidings, took horse, and without scarcely stopping, posted off to him at Windsor. They were not a little surprised at the reception they met with; the Prince unable to conceal his spleen, and venting his displeasure in the harshest terms at the officiousness of those who had interfered to prevent the King's departure. Such was his ill humour, that even the conduct of the council did not escape his censure, who, he insinuated, were too ready to attend to the King's message. He dispatched his favourite Zuylestein with orders to James not to approach nearer than Rochester; but Zuylestein found him already arrived in London. His entry into the capital had displayed in glaring colours the levity and inconsistency of the multitude. They, who had a few days before celebrated his departure with every expression of joy and triumph, insulted his religion, destroyed his chapels, and clamorously threatened the persons of his priests, hailed his return with joy equally noisy, equally the effect of judgment and reason. The men followed his coach with shouts, the women wept and blessed him. So seducing is the appearance of popularity, so little able is any temper of character to resist its blandishments, that James, though he had always affected to disregard popular applause and approbation, felt his sullen heart pleased and expanded*. On this head every page of history preaches in vain. Though every period of

* Read his expressions of pleasure—M'Pherson, p. 167.

CHAP. II. revolving time exhibits the favourites and minions of the
 ——— crowd, one day lifted up with transport to the skies, and
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 December. the next dashed with scorn to the ground, yet will popular
 applause be ever delicious to those who are refreshed by
 a single passing breeze of it.

James was so elated by the shouting of the populace, that he fancied himself again established in his authority. He dispatched Lord Feversham to the Prince, desiring him to come and confer with him at St. James's. When, however, he retired to his palace, his hopes and spirits were less buoyant. Few of the higher classes had participated in the besotted joy of the populace. They were grieved at the opportunity of peace and settlement, which perverse fortune had disconcerted; they hid themselves in privacy and retirement. The night of his arrival James called a council, but not many obeyed the summons. The next morning he found his court absolutely deserted;—none of the public bodies came to him with addresses. He was almost solitary in his palace.—All his fears and anxiety returned upon him.

On the arrival of Feversham, the Prince not quite recovered from his ill humour, or more probably, still with a view of striking terror into James, and not having abandoned the hopes he had rested on his pusillanimity, asked Feversham for his passport, and immediately ordered him to be confined in Windsor Castle, on the frivolous pretence he had come without one. This was merely a pretence; but an appearance of harshness and an abrupt breaking off of ceremony entered into his plans upon James. He himself continued his march, and arrived that night at Sion House. He here called a council of all the English of rank who were with him, to deliberate on the unexpected incident which had occurred. How to dispose of the King's person was the question. The Prince's nature, his character of a prince and near relative, all revolted at the notion of getting rid of him by violence, and no small perplexity was occasioned by his return. Different advices were proposed.—Some advised his being

detained in strict confinement till a complete settlement of CHAP. II.
the kingdom, and a surrender of his government in Ire-
land. Against this Lord Clarendon and others remon-
strated with vehemence; that while he remained in Eng-
land, compassion for fallen royalty, under which other
motives would disguise themselves, would perpetually
raise insurrections, and perhaps more serious rebellions in
his favour, and be a never failing source of disorders.
On these grounds they urged his being transferred to
Breda, or some garrison town in the Low Countries*. How
precarious is the instruction to be gleaned from history.
No two cases agree in all their particular circumstances,
and the difference of the slightest imperceptible one shall
make every difference in the result. Lewis of France,
detained in his capital, perished on a scaffold. Had James
remained in England, it is probable he never would have
lost his crown, but it might yet be worn by his poste-
rity.

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The determination of the council was agreeable to the
plan which had been pursued of frightening the King,
which might yet have its effect. No answer was to be
returned to the invitation sent by Lord Feversham, but
an order delivered to him in the most haughty, peremptory
manner, to remove from London without half an hour's
delay. The place prescribed for his residence was the
most disagreeable that could be thought of, a cold unfur-
nished house belonging to the Duchess of Lauderdale at
Ham, and this in the depth of winter. It was resolved
some of his former servants, and those whom he had lately
trusted, should be the bearers of this bitter message, as
from their mouths it would sound still harsher, and convey
the greater alarm. Halifax, who so well knew the Prince's
plan, and had so well executed it, was selected by him.
It is said Halifax would have excused himself, and this is
probable enough, as it certainly was not a very gracious,
and could not be a very agreeable office; however, he

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 440.

CHAP. II. was persuaded. To him were joined Lords Shrewsbury
— and Delamere. They arrived at Whitehall at one in the
1688.
December, morning;—they insisted they could not wait, but must
awaken the King. Halifax delivered the message with all
the harshness and arrogance possible in the tone and
manner. In doing so he must have offered violence to
his character, which was eminently distinguished by soft-
ness, politeness, and urbanity; but it was part of the
plan. The King must depart to Ham House by ten in the
morning, not a moment longer would be allowed. The
King represented the disagreeable circumstances of Ham
House, and asked whether he might not go to Rochester
in its stead. The commissioners, particularly Halifax,
were delighted to perceive their design had already pro-
duced its effect, and anticipated ultimate success. *They*,
however, took care to conceal their pleasure, and treating
it as an unforeseen request, coldly answered he should
have his answer by nine in the morning. When the per-
mission arrived, the King expressed a wish to go by water,
but Halifax at first rudely opposed it*. He was led to
think that his destruction was resolved upon, when a
nobleman like Halifax, who had been but the other day
his own commissioner, ventured to oppose so slight a wish
with rudeness. This was just the effect intended. How-
ever, after some discussion, and with an appearance of
great difficulty, the request was at length acceded to, and
James went down the river to Rochester, escorted by a
party of the Prince's guards.

It cannot have escaped the observation of the reader,
that the conduct of Lord Halifax from the time the Prince
approached the capital to the final winding up of the
piece, nowise partook of the timidity and indecision which
have been represented as the ground-work of his character,
and which marked his first steps towards the Revolution.
This certainly was the case. All his fears appeared to have
deserted him. He was resolved to make ample atonement

* James himself—M'Pherson, p. 168.

for his original irresolution, and ambiguity of proceeding. CHAP. II.
 Nothing can be conceived more direct and decisive than ———
 the services he rendered to the Prince. He may be said ^{1688.} December.
 to have seated him on the throne, and to have accomplished
 the Revolution, as there is good reason to believe* the
 King never would have abandoned the kingdom, if it had
 not been for the letter which Halifax, with such boldness
 of artifice in the circumstances in which he stood as the
 King's commissioner, ventured to transmit to him. By
 one of the miracles which attended the Revolution, his
 character quite changed, and the change lasted no longer
 than was necessary for its triumph. He relapsed into his
 timidity, and was often inclined to repent† of that deci-
 sion which he could not recal. Most of the Prince's
 guards who attended James to Rochester were Catholics,
 and he had the pleasure during his stay of seeing many of
 them at mass with him. It is remarkable there were no
 less than four thousand of the religion, which the Prince
 came to dispossess, who followed him in the enterprise;
 a number not inferior to those who were dispersed up and
 down in the King's army in England‡. One of them was
 asked how he came to serve against the interests of his
 religion? "My soul," said the soldier, "is God's, but my
 sword is the Prince of Orange's." James was pleased, or
 affected to be pleased, with the answer. He assumed as
 much gaiety as he could in his looks and conversation,
 resolved upon attempting his escape. He certainly seems
 to have been persuaded, that if he did not get off, the
 Prince would send him out of the world another way§.
 This persuasion only proves, that the studied and accumu-
 lated arts practised upon him had their effect. He has
 put down the charge in his book to excuse his pusillanimity
 to himself, and to posterity. The character and rank of
 the Prince furnish a sufficient refutation of it. We
 cannot think that the Prince would, in any circumstances,

* Reresby, p. 312.

† See the last pages of Reresby.

‡ Reresby, p. 318.

§ James's own words—M'Pherson, p. 168.

CHAP. II. or under the pressure of any real or supposed necessity, have
 ————— embred his hands in his blood :—he would rather have
 1688.
 December. given up the whole of his design. As he approached to
 the conclusion, he felt a sort of reluctance arising from the
 memory of the King's past friendship, and a sense of the
 near relationship in which he stood towards him. When
 he received from the hands of James's commissioners a
 letter entirely official, penned as is usual with official
 letters, he remarked with evident emotion, and with an
 air of melancholy and concern, that it was the first letter
 he had received from the King written in such a manner,
 and in the hand-writing of another. But could we con-
 ceive him capable of such an act as the private or public
 death of the King, he would not have *dared* to attempt it
 in the face of the English soldiery and people, who would
 almost to a man have flown to arms on the bare suspicion
 of such a thing in contemplation. At Rochester every
 facility was offered to James to tempt him to escape.
 The house for his residence was purposely chosen with the
 rear on the river, and while guards were set with all due
 formality before the front door, none were posted behind,
 and the avenue to the water left quite clear and unob-
 structed. The captain of the guards was privately
 instructed not to look very strictly after his prisoner. A
 letter arrived from the Queen, which was *intercepted*;
 but when it was found to contain a pressing invitation to
 join her according to his promise, it was by the special
 orders of the Prince forwarded to its destination*. James
 confesses he saw the design in the unguarded state of the
 rear of the house†, yet, instead of collecting resolution to
 disappoint his enemies and disconcert their plans, he still
 clung to the opinion that the only way to avoid death was
 to fly. Many of his partisans and adherents resorted to
 him, and spared no pains to revive his hopes and animate
 his courage. Lord Dundee, the most spirited and heroical
 of those who were still stedfast to his cause, addressed

* Burnet.

† M'Pherson, p. 168.

him in language flowing from his character:—"Sir, my CHAP. II.
 opinion is, you should stay in England. Make your stand
 here, and summon your subjects to your allegiance. 'Tis ^{1688.}
 true your army is disbanded by your own authority; but _{December.}
 though disbanded, not so dispersed, but if you will give
 me your commission, I will undertake to get ten thousand
 of them together, and march through all England with
 your standard at their head, and drive all the Dutch before
 you." All his exhortations were fruitless. The King
 seemed at one time undetermined, as if a ray of resolu-
 tion was breaking in upon him. He talked of going
 northwards, and trusting himself to Lord Danby. Again
 he spoke of retreating to Lambeth Palace, and putting
 himself in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 The destinies of England hung suspended in a balance.
 At length the better side prevailed. At twelve at night
 the 22nd of December, James descended from his bed-
 chamber, and without encountering any molestation, or so
 much as meeting any one, attended only by his son the
 Duke of Berwick, embarked on board a vessel which was
 waiting for him at Sheerness, and which landed him at
 Ambleteuse, near Calais, about three o'clock on Tuesday
 morning, Christmas day. He left behind him, on his
 table, a paper which testified his zeal for his religion was
 unabated, and that no event, not even the loss of his
 crown, could persuade him so much as to disguise it.

It may be thought ungenerous to the memory of a <sup>Character
of James.</sup>
 fallen Prince to comment with severity on the character
 of James; but posterity must not be defrauded of the full
 benefit of instruction, which may be collected not merely
 from a survey of his misfortunes, but a strict and critical
 inquiry into his faults and defects. The first and radical
 defect was a general weakness of character. His under-
 standing was below mediocrity, perpetually moving in a
 confined circle of minute and frivolous details. He was
 withal violent and obstinate in his purposes, but without
 the spirit or fortitude to support them. His religion was
 not the religion of a prince, or a gentleman, but the mean,

CHAP. II. creeping superstition of a monk. He was far from the picture which Mr. Fox's eloquent pencil has designed,—an ambitious and aspiring sovereign, revolving nothing but projects of power and domination in his gloomy and capacious mind, impatient to ride in triumph over the liberties of his subjects, and bend their stubborn necks to his iron yoke. He was the mere puppet of his priests and friars, by whom he was perpetually surrounded and guided in all his actions, which were for the most part the minute practices of a sickly and feeble devotion. After the loss of his crown he seems to have entertained doubts* whether it was possible to secure his salvation out of a convent, and accordingly undertook several journeys to edify himself by a view of the rigid ascetics of La Trappe, with whose famous superior, Rancé, he carried on a constant correspondence. His monkish piety and zeal impressed a gloomy stamp on his whole disposition; he seemed just emerged from among the conventuals of La Trappe. Few characters transmitted to us by history have less of the soft and amiable mingled in their composition. Little is to be discerned but sullen lines of repulsive harshness. That he had high notions of the kingly authority, and would consequently be disposed to regard with an eye of jealousy and dislike the rights and privileges of his subjects, was the natural result of the various circumstances of his life, both at its entrance, and during its progress. He will, therefore, be thought deserving of indulgence on this score, at least will not be exposed to much acrimonious censure; nor will any indignation or bitterness be awakened by his excessive attachment to his religion, which he laboured to promote in a spirit that may be denominated bigotry and fanaticism. His zeal was certainly not enlightened, yet flowed from the sincerity of his nature; and there is something in sincerity which, if it does not absolutely conciliate esteem, yet is calculated to disarm censure. But when we contemplate him in the exercise

1688.
December.

of power, there is a shade of rigour and severity in the CHAP. II.
 whole temper and complexion of his government which
 can hardly be distinguished from a cruel and tyrannical ^{1688.}
 disposition. When he represented the royal authority in December.
 Scotland, during the life-time of his brother, his adminis-
 tration appears deeply stained with blood. He is said to
 have interfered personally, and to have assisted at the
 infliction of torture with the countenance of a person
 surveying some curious experiment. He was justified
 in taking away the life of the Duke of Monmouth,
 who had raised a rebellion in his kingdom with an ani-
 mosity and virulence directed immediately against his
 person and character; but the *manner* of his proceeding
 is marked with those traces of an unmerciful, unforgiving
 character which intercepts all compassion from the mis-
 fortunes he afterwards experienced. We can never read
 the circumstances of his interview with the favourite son
 of a kind brother but lately expired, repelling him from
 his knees, when in a suppliant manner petitioning for
 mercy; feasting himself with the sight of his humiliation
 and distress, surveying with a cold look his altered fea-
 tures, his broken appearance, his arms tied behind—it is
 impossible to recal this scene without acknowledging the
 retributive hand of Providence in his expulsion from his
 dominions, in a life protracted in banishment and sorrow,
 supported by the bounty of a foreign Prince. The cup
 which he had steeped with so much bitterness for the lips
 of another, was returned to his own. We feel not only
 the joy and triumph of Englishmen, at our deliverance
 from slavery, but the emotions of *mortals* at the punish-
 ment of him who abused the uncertainty of our mortal
 condition. The slavery he was preparing for us was of
 the worst and most disgraceful kind. We were not to
 receive a compensation for subjection at home, by power
 and glory abroad.—But whilst the King was labouring to
 overturn the civil and religious liberties of his people, he
 was, according to his own expression*, “eating the bread

* Barillon's Dispatch, July 16, 1685.—Fox's App.

CHAP. II. of France." He was the pensioner of a monarch, who, ——— amidst the glare of vanity and folly, was himself preparing the downfall of his posterity and throne. We should have
 1688.
 December. been involved in the whirl of French manners and politics, and probably shared the fate of that unhappy people, who after having run round the circle of political misery in its various forms of popular brutality and military despotism, seem to have to run round the same circle over again*.

* This was written after Buonaparte's return from Elba, and before his final downfall.

CHAPTER III.

The Prince of Orange arrives in London,—summons a Convention of the Estates of the Realm.—Proceedings of the Convention Parliament.—Locke's Essay on Government examined.—Bill of Rights.—The Question of Parliamentary Reform fully discussed.—Lord Shaftesbury the first Parliamentary Reformer in England of a private Character.—A Review of his Life, with Remarks on Mr. Fox's Notice of that Nobleman.

THIS chapter will for the greater part be devoted to the assertion and vindication of the true principles of the Revolution, to shewing on what foundations its authors proceeded, for which their own expositions will be appealed to. In the progress of this discussion it will be necessary to advert to opinions diametrically opposite, which, however, have been pertinaciously maintained and industriously propagated by ignorant, but presumptuous men, as the genuine doctrines on which the venerated fathers of the Revolution erected their work. These the wicked have frequently made use of, without much examination, for the purposes of confusion and overthrow. When the marked opposition of the real principles has been fully exhibited, it will reasonably be asked, How could the delusion have arisen? It will be traced to a work of much celebrity, which accidental circumstances connected with the Revolution, so as to be mistaken for an authorised and almost official exposition of it. This work of a crude and clumsy construction, but protected by a great name, will undergo a severe, but, it is hoped, fair examination. A natural transition from the consideration of this work will be an inquiry into what is called parliamentary

CHAP. III. reform, particularly the mode recommended at present in
 — a number of popular meetings, and which is little more than an attempt to bring into action and practice the wild theory of the work in question.

A discussion on *parliamentary reform* cannot be deemed wholly impertinent to the design of this history, which is not merely *to record* the events of the Revolution, but to extol and celebrate it as an example of political reformation. Yet a gentleman, who, if a long life always conferred wisdom ought to be wise, has pronounced it wholly an incomplete reformation, because unaccompanied by *parliamentary* reform; and goes farther by declaring, that this last would do more for the liberties, prosperity, and glory of the country than this Revolution or any other event in our annals. Another gentleman, whose lucubrations have not been quite so much matured by time, but who is nowise behind-hand in the confidence with which he retails them, has still more heavily censured the authors of the Revolution. The present vicious constitution of the parliament, according to him, dates from that event. So far from correcting abuses, they actually introduced them, and instead of being entitled to the gratitude of their posterity, they are exposed to their most pointed animadversions. This, at least, is the meaning I extract from the rubbish of bad rhetoric with which the following statement is thickly incrustured: — “The system of boroughs was introduced at the Revolution, and grew out of the encroachments on the the prerogative.” “Nor was it till the prerogatives of the crown were encroached upon at the era of the Revolution, when the seeds of the rotten borough-system, which have since grown so luxuriantly and have produced such poisonous effects, the baneful influence of which we now so sensibly feel, were with careful prodigality scattered over the land,” &c.

It will be shewn as a matter of historical information, that the statement of the borough-system’s having grown up at the Revolution, in consequence of the encroachments on the prerogative, is wholly chimerical. The borough-system was created long before the Revolution, and grew

up under the shade of the very prerogative; but it cannot CHAP.III.
be denied that this system was continued at the Revolution, and it may, perhaps, be admitted that the authors of the Revolution were, for the most part, not sorry to find it in existence, many of them foreseeing its effects on the general constitution of the kingdom. If, therefore, in its present state it can be proved to be so great an evil, much censure, no doubt, will attach itself to their memories. How far it is to be deemed an evil, is a question, by necessary conclusion, not remotely connected with a work consecrated to their praise—perhaps it may be thought a necessary part of it;—but whether entering into my design or not, it is a question of extreme importance to the country. Palliatives and evasions are no longer seasonable. Putting off the discussion from time to time only serves to keep up the cry of those who call themselves reformers, and animate their zeal. It must be positively decided, whether the borough-system should be abandoned, and the assertion admitted, that no principle should be allowed in the composition of the Common's House of Parliament but popular election. Those, who, like me, are of opinion that the system is useful and even necessary to combine peace and good order, and a vigorous government with the enjoyment of liberty, will approve of the direct denial with which I meet the assertion. They will further think, that while it remains uncontradicted and unrefuted, all our prosperity is insecure; an accident, a turn in the popular mind, may second the clamours of the pretended reformers, and enable them to raise dreadful commotions, if not to carry their views into final execution. They will contemplate *parliamentary reform* as a bird of ill omen, perpetually hovering over the fruits and flowers of the land, ever ready to devour them—as a stalking horse behind which bad men conceal themselves, and aim their deadly shafts at that order which represses their vanity and ambition, and that wealth which provokes their envy and malevolence. Whoever among us wishes to destroy his country, cannot exclaim with the great Sicilian mathema-

CHAP. III. tician, "Δος, π8, στω." He has a convenient platform provided
 ——— for him in *parliamentary reform* on which to erect his machines. With this view of the subject, I should have been tempted to produce my arguments, had they even been less connected with my design. Should I still be exposed to censure, I must submit, pleading only the importance and urgent circumstances of the question. But before I enter upon any discussion whatever, let me discharge the functions of an historian, and faithfully relate what was done at the period of the Revolution.

1688.
 December.
 Entry of
 the Prince
 of Orange
 into Lon-
 don.

The evening of the day on which James finally quitted London, the Prince of Orange made his public entry. He had some days before sent in a detachment of his guards under the command of Count Solmes, and ordered them to take possession of all the avenues to Whitehall. This was, no doubt, intended to co-operate with the other circumstances contrived to hasten James's departure. His timorous mind was not a little affected when he beheld his guards displaced without ceremony, and a foreign soldiery surround his person.

Received
 with accla-
 mations by
 the multi-
 tude.

A heavy rain fell the day of the Prince's entry, which did not prevent the populace from assembling in large crowds wherever they expected his passage, prepared to welcome him with the same acclamations with which they had greeted a few days before the sovereign he came to dethrone. The Prince either despising their levity and inconstancy, or from his habitual dislike of crowds and popular plaudits, disappointed their numerous assemblages, and took his road through the Park. A few who had waited a long time in the rain in expectation of seeing him, were heard to murmur; but the multitude forgetting their disappointment, and faithful only to their love of turbulent rejoicing, celebrated his arrival with all those marks and displays which have been construed to signify *the approbation of the people*. The bells were rung in peals, and at night illuminations exhibited, and bonfires lighted. The next day the Prince received the com-

pliments of all the nobility and gentry in town. Many of the bishops, and most of the clergy waited likewise upon him; but Archbishop Sancroft set the example of absenting himself, which was regarded as a refusal to acknowledge any title to obedience in the Prince. From this day was formed a party known by the name of Non-jurors, from their steadily refusing to take any manner of oath which might be deemed a recognition of the government of the Revolution. Sancroft himself, who, by the example of his absence from the Prince's court, was considered as the founder and head of this party, had, it has been seen, taken very strong steps against James on his first departure from the capital; but, it seems, he had been able to bring his understanding to construe the first departure as a *voluntary* resignation of the government, but his casuistical ingenuity forsook him on the second. *This*, he was obliged to consider as the effect of force and compulsion, and his fundamental principle was, that nothing but a *voluntary* act on the part of the King could release his subjects from their allegiance.

A deputation from the lawyers had at their head the venerable Serjeant Maynard, then ninety years of age, but who retained all the vigour of his mind. The Prince observing to him, that he had survived all his contemporaries of the law—"And I should have survived the law itself, had not your Highness come over," answered the serjeant. The most lively courtier could not have more readily introduced an elegant compliment.

The Prince established his residence at Whitehall, the palace which James had just quitted.

Immediately after his arrival, he sent for all the peers who happened to be in town, and who were in number about seventy, and laying his declaration before them, desired them to consult on the best means of carrying it into effect. They, to impress a parliamentary character on their proceedings, adjourned to their house in Westminster, and choosing the Marquis of Halifax for their speaker, assumed the exercise of government in several

CHAP.III.
1688.
December.

Party of
Non-jurors.

CHAP. III. important functions, as had done the assembly convened
 — after James's first flight. They ordered all Papists to
 1688.
 December. remove from the capital, and sent the late King's guards, and as many of his troops as yet remained embodied, to twenty miles distance, introducing the Dutch in their place. The appearance of these foreigners does not seem to have given much pleasure to the country gentlemen who visited London, if we judge by the picture which Sir John Reresby has drawn of the manner in which things struck him on his arrival from Yorkshire:—"I was presently sensible of a great alteration; the guards, and other parts of the army, which both for their persons and gallantry were an ornament to the palace, were sent to quarter at a distance, while the streets swarmed with ill-favoured and ill-accoutred Dutchmen and other strangers of the Prince's army;" and yet, he adds, with not a little spleen and ill-humour, "the city seemed to be mightily pleased with their deliverers, nor perceived their deformity or the oppression they laboured under, by far more insupportable than ever they had suffered from the English."

While the King remained in the kingdom, there was a course of proceeding in which the *forms* of the constitution would be respected. He no longer personally directed the government;—he was *substantially* dethroned: but the precedent, of annexing the *King's name* to public acts, when his personal authority was not recognised, was not unknown. When, however, there could be no doubt of his having quitted the kingdom, a course of proceeding for which there was no precedent became absolutely necessary. The forms of the constitution were *necessarily* to be departed from; but to keep as near as possible to them was obviously what the statesmen of that day were most anxiously intent upon.

This struggle between the forms of the constitution and the necessity of the case, occasioned no small perplexity and discussion in the assembly of the Peers. The very day after the King's flight was the day of their meeting. Not much hesitation appeared as to what may be deemed

the substance. They were determined to consider his flight as a final withdrawal from the kingdom, and consequently to shake off his government for ever. When some of his secret friends proposed to read the paper he had left behind him, the majority crushed the proposal by a direct refusal. They likewise refused to inquire into the birth of the Prince of Wales, willing to leave the question in that state of doubt and obscurity which was most favourable to their views. When again the late King's friends artfully proposed to read the Prince's declaration, which might lead to an inference no change was to take place in the occupier of the throne, the proposal was rejected; so far there was no want of decision in their conduct. Their determination as to a *revolution* was sufficiently manifested. But how to proceed in this *revolution*, with the least deviation from the ancient track, became the subject of their deliberations, on which much diversity of opinion arose. James's partisans made one more attempt in his favour by suggesting a singular expedient, which must be deemed a recognition of his title, and, in some degree, of his kingly rights, that an address should be sent after him, requesting him to issue afresh the writs which he had recalled and destroyed. This was on the face of it too gross an absurdity to be at all listened to, so the more artful introduced in its place another proposal which might have the same effect; that is, that the members who had been returned under those writs should meet, and give orders for the elections to complete the number. But the assembly were too determined in their principles and object, and all these expedients were rejected on the grounds which have been already explained. There was but one sentiment, that the present vacancy could be supplied only by a *parliament*, but *how* to get at a parliament, or any assembly to which that sacred name could be affixed without the intervention of the kingly name, was the difficulty.

Among the Prince's more strenuous partisans there were not wanting men of summary expedients, with no small portion of modern impatience at the difficulties and

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CHAP. III. embarrassments of forms. Among these Burnet the
 1688.
 December. historian appears to have been conspicuous. He afterwards published a pamphlet in support of the doctrine first broached in the assembly of the Peers. In the train of these vigorous statesmen were some pedantic lawyers, who carried their adherence to forms to an absurd extreme. To preserve one form, they were prepared to sacrifice the whole substance, and even the very *forms* of the constitution.

The History of England furnished a precedent of *conquest*, and the word had been admitted into the phraseology of jurisprudence, so that the rights of a *conqueror* were not wholly unknown to the law. The Prince had only to declare himself one, and in pursuance of the rights which lawyers had admitted as belonging to that character, every thing became easy before him. He was, the moment he assumed the name of *conqueror*, a king *de facto*, and could issue writs for a parliament *de facto* likewise. This *de facto* parliament would be competent to change the *de facto* kingly title into one *de jure*, which was the point to be obtained. But the same doctrine which gave a conqueror the kingly title, set no limits to his authority. It laid the whole system of law and almost of society prostrate at his feet. These inferences were more than sufficient to determine *the fathers of the Revolution*. The doctrine was heard with anger and indignation; and when at a subsequent period Burnet's pamphlet made its appearance, it was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common executioner.—The question now was among the more moderate proposals.

Lord Paget, supported by the Bishop of London, maintained that the flight of James was a demise in law, and the Princess of Orange *Queen* of course, as next in succession. This method solved all difficulties, and at once filled the throne; but it had two great obstacles to encounter. It snatched from the zealous Whigs, from the friends of liberty in general, such a settlement of the national rights, and such a scheme of provisions against

future mis-government, as they were anxious to engraft on CHAP.III.
 the opportunity presented to them of conferring the kingly
 title, and blend along with it. Their number, however, 1688.
 was inconsiderable; and so plausible a proposition as that December.
 of Lord Paget would probably have overcome their feeble
 resistance: but what fortunately proved fatal to it was, it
 counteracted the secret wishes and views of the Prince
 himself. It at once deprived him of the kingly *power*, and
 made him the subject of his wife, which he was resolved
 not to submit to. His friends were able to get rid of it,
 and the assembled peers finally resolved to address him to
 summon a parliament, *in his own name*, to meet the 22nd of Resolution
 January following, to whom should be left the entire set- to address
 tlement of the kingdom; *he*, in the mean time to exercise the Prince.
 the powers of Government, which could not be suspended
 without extreme danger to the country. When the
 Prince received this address, he observed that it was the
 act of the Peers alone, which would not carry the proper
 authority, unless the name of the *Commons* was superadded.
 The semblance of a House of Commons was to be procured.

The reader may have collected from the passage of
 Reresby above quoted, that the indications of popular
 sentiment in the city of London, were sufficiently marked
 in favour of the Prince. Popular meetings, therefore,
 could easily have been convened suitable to his purposes.
 The *sovereign people* of Palace-Yard were within call—
 so probably Mr. Benjamin Constant would have arranged
 the matter—But to the *sovereign people* did not *the fathers*
of the Revolution resort. The assembly, to bear the sem-
 blance of a House of Commons, was to be composed of
 members of former Houses of Commons, to whom other
 descriptions of persons would be added. Though no
 doubt could be entertained of the legal character of the par-
 liament of James II. yet on account of the very servile dis-
 position evinced by his House of Commons, it was thought
 expedient in some degree to stigmatize it. Accordingly
 the members who composed it were passed over by the
 advisers of the Prince, who, calling together all in town

CHAP. III. who had sat in any of the Houses of Commons of Charles
 1686.
 December. II. and associating to these the Lord Mayor, Aldermen,
 and Common Council of London, were able to form an
 assembly to the number of three hundred, which was
 intended to represent the Commons House of Parliament.

Semblance
 of a House
 of Com-
 mons.

These gentlemen, in imitation of the Peers, adjourned to
 the chamber of meeting of the Commons in Westminster,
 and chose Mr. Powle for their speaker. They soon came
 to a concurrence with the Peers, and their joint address
 bore the name and appearance of the resolution of the
 two Houses.

Thus confirmed, the Prince's Government commanded
 universal submission, and inspired general confidence.
 It was necessary to disband the English troops still on
 foot, on which he did not think he could place reliance,
 and provide for the maintenance of the Dutch till the
 meeting of the parliament. The city of London advanced
 two hundred thousand pounds for this two-fold purpose;
 the zealous and animated friend of his country bringing
 forward his contribution with a generous confidence;
 while many who were not disaffected, but timorous and
 lukewarm, kept back, "pretending there was no certainty
 of their money being repaid*."—The business of new-
 modelling the army was entrusted entirely to Lord
 Churchill, the concealed hero, who was destined one day
 to lead them on to victory and glory. All persons in
 office were ordered to resume the functions of their em-
 ployments, and regulations introduced into the adminis-
 tration of the revenue. A number of writers had taken
 advantage of the interval before the complete establish-
 ment to issue the most licentious publications, carrying
 the freedom of inquiry and discussion to the most sacred
 subjects. A proclamation appeared to restrain this evil.
 The French ambassador was ordered to quit the kingdom
 in twenty-four hours. No measure encountered any
 opposition. The approaching parliament, and the momen-

* Burnet.

tous subject which was to occupy its first deliberations, CHAP.III.
 stirred up the most busy ferment in the minds of men. 1688.
 All was curiosity, and speculation, and conjecture. Each December.
 had his plan to propose, which he supported by arguments
 he deemed decisive. The Prince alone was calm and col-
 lected, and seemed raised above the passions of the day,
 and the strife of tongues. Some anxiety and eagerness,
 no doubt, laboured in his bosom, but he kept it concealed
 there;—no eye could penetrate it. Notwithstanding the
 tempting object of ambition before his view, no conde-
 scension to the arts of popularity appeared in his conduct,
 no assiduity to court popular favour, or gain popular suf-
 frages. He was difficult of access, and when he admitted
 any one, listened with attention, but spoke little. He
 preserved all the phlegm and reservedness of his character
 to the last moment; and, as if unconcerned in the decision
 which parliament was to pronounce, two days before the
 meeting of it, he pursued his favourite amusement of
 hunting, and honoured a private person with his company
 at dinner.

At length arrived the so much expected 22nd of January, 1689.
 and according to the summons issued, the assembly
 which was to fix the destinies of these islands met on that
 day. The Whigs and friends of the Revolution had expe-
 rienced more success in the elections than would have
 attended them at any other period. They were favoured
 by the circumstances of the moment, and enabled in many
 instances, in the first triumph of the Revolution, to over-
 come the decided aversion of the multitude to them and
 their principles. Had the elections taken place under the
 writs of James at an earlier period, very few would have
 been returned, wherever the returns depended on the votes
 of the multitude. As it was, it was a favourable circum-
 stance to the cause of the Revolution, this mode of return-
 ing was not exclusive; that time and a variety of causes
 had opened another entry to the House of Commons
 besides popular canvass and election, otherwise the party
 that supported the Revolution would have been indeed

CHAP. III. very feeble, and must have sunk under the ascendant of the numbers, who from different motives, some from weakness, others by design, were intent on defeating it. The list of members to this parliament is to be seen among Lord Somers's Tracts, and the reader will note the very few names among the friends and promoters of the Revolution that appear returned by counties and cities. If we enjoy our liberties, we are perhaps indebted for them to the small and decayed boroughs which some so bitterly decry, and are so anxious to exterminate. Where the multitude, or, as they are called, the *people* intervened, high Tories and disguised Jacobites were for the most part the favourites, and became members of the parliament.

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The Prince was ill qualified to be a personal favourite with them. Neither his carriage nor manners were conciliating; and there were some circumstances in his case which it was impossible entirely to conceal, that necessarily indisposed Englishmen against him. The triumph of a foreign force was an idea which perpetually intruded itself, and which could not be entirely separated from the events of the Revolution. This was extremely offensive to the sentiments of national pride. The troops of Dutchmen who attended the Prince, whose dress and manners appeared in the highest degree uncouth and unseemly to a nation unaccustomed to see strangers among them, with the impression that arose from part of the English army being sent away to make room for them in the capital, produced no small dislike and opposition in the multitude. Sir John Reresby's sentiments may be taken as a fair specimen of the notions of the country gentlemen upon the subject; and at that time the country gentlemen participated pretty faithfully in the opinions of the provincial crowd. James, it is true, had been in a great degree odious and obnoxious, on account of his Catholic zeal and bigotry. But his removal had thrown a veil upon his faults; and now was added tenderness for the fallen sovereign, compassion for what were termed his unmerited

sufferings, that sentiment generous in itself, which disposes CHAP. III.
the lower orders in favour of the unfortunate great.

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All who were attached to the Prince with zeal and discernment, were convinced that to make his enterprise at all effectual, and be the means of national deliverance, it was necessary to place the crown on his head. They were therefore determined to risk any measure of vulgar opposition, to encounter the clamour of the factious, the misconceptions of the ignorant, and all the artifices which the secret favourers and partisans of the old Government could employ, rather than not achieve the design. But it became incumbent upon them to proceed with extreme caution and circumspection in the accomplishment of it. It was necessary not only to displace James, but, to a certain degree, depart from the order of succession, in order to introduce the Prince. Any premature discovery of their design would, in all probability, defeat it. The Prince, it has been seen, had never ventured to betray the least indication of his views; but in the whole of his progress to the capital, took every occasion to disclaim any notion of possessing himself of the crown. The time was now, however, arrived for the disclosure of the plan. The parliament was assembled for the purpose of final adjustment and settlement, and it could no longer be postponed. The thing was to be accomplished now, or to be entirely deserted; a resolution was to be proposed which should open the way.—In framing this resolution no small art and ingenuity were employed. It consisted of parts not a little involved in shade and obscurity; the result to which it necessarily led was scarcely discernible.—Thus was the state of the public mind soothed and appeased, the adversaries of the measure in and out of parliament in some measure blinded, their sagacity and discernment baffled and eluded. The authors of the resolution were content to gain a practical end, and very readily abandoned the praise of precise reasoning and luminous exposition.

On the 22nd the House was confined to some necessary

CHAP. III. forms of business, and the election of a Speaker. Before
 ——— they separated they received the following letter from the
 1689. Prince, which gave no intimation of the design in agita-
 January. tion. He left the bringing of it forward entirely to his
 friends. It was part of the plan that the crown should
 seem deferred to him, not claimed by him.

“ Gentlemen,

“ I have endeavoured, to the utmost of my power, to perform what was desired from me, in order to the public peace and safety; and I do not know that any thing hath been omitted which might tend to their preservation, since the administration of affairs was put into my hands: It now lieth upon you to lay the foundations of a firm security for your religion, your laws, and your liberties.

“ I do not doubt, but that, by such a full and free representation of the nation as is now met, the ends of my declaration will be attained: and since it hath pleased God hitherto to bless my good intentions with so great a success, I trust in Him that he will complete his own work by sending a spirit of peace and union to influence your councils, that no interruption may be given to a happy and lasting settlement.

“ The dangerous condition of the Protestant interest in Ireland requiring a large and speedy succour, and the present state of things abroad, oblige me to tell you, that next to the danger of unseasonable divisions amongst yourselves, nothing can be so fatal as too great delay in your consultations.

“ The States, by whom I have been enabled to rescue this nation, may suddenly feel the ill effects of it, both by being too long deprived of the service of their troops, which are now here, and of your early assistance against a powerful enemy, who hath declared war against them: and as England is by treaty already engaged to help them upon any such exigencies, so I am confident, that their cheerful concurrence to preserve this kingdom, with so

much hazard to themselves, will meet with all the returns of friendship and assistance, which may be expected from you as Protestants and Englishmen, whenever their condition shall require it." CHAP. III.
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The only preparatory hints which may be supposed to be contained in this letter, are, his reminding them that it was by his arrival from Holland, at the head of the Dutch troops, that their deliverance had been effected, and leading to the inference that his withdrawal would replunge them into the state from which they had emerged.

On the memorable 28th of January, 1689, was at last the great resolution propounded, which was to be the accomplishment of the Revolution. It ran in these words: "Resolved, That King James the Second having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between King and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of this kingdom, has abdicated the Government, and that the Throne is thereby become vacant."

The studied obscurity and concealed meaning of this resolution, in the adjustment of the several parts to each other, and its construction as a whole, are too remarkable not to lead to the opinion that it was concerted before the meeting of the House, in a private consultation by the heads of the party. It was, however, contrived that it should not be proposed all together, for fear the light arising from the whole should be too strong, and too clearly expose the intention of the framers of it. It came out in parcels, different members adding, as if from their own particular conceptions, and drawn on by the course of the debate. When considered as it now stands, it is evident it was not framed for the purpose of clear exposition. The prominent feature in it, and the great artifice in its construction is, that it is by an assemblage of logic and fact, by argumentative conclusions of no very lumi-

CHAP.III. nous a character, and a matter of recent history, which none could deny or dispute, that it arrives at its conclusion.

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January. Breaking the original contract between King and people, and violating the fundamental laws, coupled with the withdrawal from the kingdom, are stated as constituting an abdication of the Government, and in their further result producing a vacancy of the throne, the object sought for through all this obscurity. It was not easy to discuss with much precision the two first branches of the proposition, to ascertain what the original contract was, or what were the fundamental laws, and what scheme of government amounted to a breach of either. It was impossible to paint misconduct in a sovereign in obscurer colours, and the propounders of the proposition gained all the advantage of combating in darkness. No determinate contract was referred to, none applicable to any one country in particular—not to England, as arising from the coronation oath on one side, and the oath of allegiance on the other. It was a theory extending to all countries, and perhaps true in none;—it was a fanciful supposition, little better than a figure of rhetoric, introduced for the purpose of illustration. This is evidently the case in respect of most countries. An original contract regarded as the statement of an historical event is neither more nor less than a false assertion. In this light it would be difficult to establish it in any country.—But in all countries, and in every Government, however it took its rise, and however in point of fact administered, the moralist contemplates reciprocal duties between the governors and the governed. The former owe protection, and the latter obedience. The existence of these duties might be proved without any reference whatever to a contract, but it may be illustrated by such a supposition. When this supposition, which can reasonably be considered only as a fiction, intended for a vehicle to the moral truth of reciprocal duties, is converted into an event and matter of fact, it is precisely what the learned Selden* complained of in other

* Selden's Table Talk.

departments of human inquiry, the transmutation of rhetoric into logic. If the impugnors of the resolution fastened on the original contract after much obscure discussion as to its existence, a series of questions would ensue as to what constituted a breach of it,—what breach was to be termed a dissolution of it,—and who had a right to determine whether it had been violated, or whether it was dissolved or not? The whole could be esteemed little more than a metaphorical delinquency imputed to the departed King. The expression of an original contract was borrowed from some late and not much approved writers on the theory of Government. As obscurity was the object, the framers of the resolution found it singularly convenient for their purpose. No less perplexity would arise on the question of the fundamental laws stated to have been violated. It might be asked, what laws were fundamental, and what not? Supposing this whole labyrinth of rhetoric and obscure logic to be gone through, the supporters of the resolution would still have another ground to stand upon;—they had taken care to provide another hinge for their inference to turn upon. And here they would reap the same benefit from excess of light as in the former part of the discussion from excess of darkness. They had stated a matter of fact which was liable to no manner of controversy, or so much as doubt,—that the King had withdrawn himself from the kingdom. This rhetorical or argumentative misconduct, coupled with the matter of fact of his withdrawal, is said to amount to the abdication of the Government. Abdication was an obscure term dragged from the phraseology of the Roman law. It was intended to cover the implication of forfeiture; a word which the framers of the resolution were themselves not willing to hazard, and which would certainly have alarmed and shocked the greater part of the nation. They wished, besides, to insinuate under it a renunciation of the crown arising from the withdrawal of the wearer of it, the suggestion most agreeable to the Tories and high church party, and which they laid hold of

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CHAP. III. with the greatest avidity. But *renunciation* would imply an act absolutely voluntary, and exclude all the inference from imputed misconduct. The whole was wrapt up and covered by the term *abdication*, fitted to elude inquiry and baffle discussion. Then, through these obscure and tortuous paths the House found itself arrived at the great and desired conclusion, the *vacancy of the throne*, which it was at last necessary to disclose as the ground of the meditated proceedings. The phrase, "by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons," was introduced merely to take advantage of the Protestant zeal of the multitude, and the prevailing hatred of the Catholics, all whose malignity was supposed to be concentrated in the Jesuits. It was dictated, too, by a wish to blend the question intended to be concealed with the religious concerns of the state in one undistinguished mass.—It might have been expected that a resolution leading to so important a result, would have encountered no small opposition in an assembly where so many secret passions fermented.—It is certain there were many who, from various motives, concealed attachment to the exiled sovereign and family, and more generally the influence of high Tory doctrines and opinions, were sufficiently disposed to combat the conclusion; yet this conclusion was so artfully veiled in the cloud of rhetoric in which it was involved, and the collateral discussions artfully connected with it, that it seems to have escaped the observation of the greater number of the members. None distinctly pointed it out, and the resolution passed the House with only three negatives, which, before it was forwarded to the Peers, were reduced to one.

It is certainly in a very high degree desirable both for the general history of England, and the particular history of our law and constitution, that there was a good report of the debate in the Commons on occasion of this resolution. We should be able to discern more clearly whether any of the persons who spoke upon it with a disposition to oppose it, at all perceived its tendency and ultimate

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effect. The report in Grey is so confused and slovenly, CHAP.III.
that nothing very positive can be affirmed on the subject,
no chain of argument is discoverable in any of the speeches
reported. The reporter just caught a few of the topics
introduced, perhaps some of the phrases that fell from the
speakers. All these he has blended together without any
regard to arrangement or method. Some further light
may be obtained from a paper of loose notes taken by
Lord Somers for his own private use, and which is pre-
served in Hardwick's State Tracts. It is much more satis-
factory than Grey's Report. It discloses important parti-
culars not to be found in the latter. It informs us by
whom the several motions were made, and traces with
some degree of perspicuity the several schemes of argu-
ment pursued. From what is to be gathered from both
these documents, the opinion is probable that the studied
obscurity of the resolution had its intended effect, and the
sagacity of its adversaries baffled or eluded.

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But in the House of Lords, the Tories and enemies of
the Revolution not only formed a more considerable party
in numbers, but were more distinct in their views, and
headed by men of superior penetration and abilities. These
men of superior penetration easily discovered through all
the elaborate complexness of the proposition, that it was
the practical triumph of Whig principles, that it, in effect,
denied and set aside their favourite doctrine of indefeasible
hereditary right. Before the House entered upon the dis-
cussion of the resolution sent up by the Commons, Lord
Nottingham proposed to them a question of his own
framing, which, if his side had prevailed, would have
completely shut it out: "Whether a Regency, with the
administration of regal power, and the style of King James
II. during the life of that King, would be the best
and safest way to preserve the Protestant religion, and
the laws of the kingdom?" By the affirmative of this
question, the resolution of the Commons, and all the objects
of the friends of the Revolution were completely defeated.
The King had *not abdicated*;—the throne was *not vacant*,

CHAP. III. but continued full in the person of James. Every avenue
— was closed up against the deliverer William. The proposition of Lord Nottingham was well calculated to be successful:—men with different opinions and views concurred in supporting it. The secret adherents of James could not but see the door it opened to his return; the proposition left his royal title unimpeached, and the succession of his son undisputed: it superseded indeed the personal exercise of his authority; but the substitute it provided, a regency, would in such circumstances have been entirely destitute of dignity and strength, and opposed but a feeble obstacle to his complete reinstatement. Many of the bigotted Tories and members of the high church party felt little attachment for the exiled sovereign, and probably contemplated his return with dread and apprehension, yet in effect contributed to bring him back, perplexed and embarrassed as they were by the different views and inclinations which weighed upon them. Zeal for their religion had driven them to a temporary dereliction of the tenets of *passive obedience and non-resistance*; yet were they anxious to save some part at least of their crumbling system, and clung with increased tenaciousness to the doctrine of *indefeasible hereditary right*. Of these Lord Nottingham himself was the principal. He was zealously assisted by Lords Rochester and Clarendon. Lord Rochester in particular distinguished himself by the ability of his support. Nothing but the most fortunate coincidence of circumstances prevented the proposition from being carried by a large majority of votes. It may be said, a lucky chance interposed in favour of the Revolution, and saved it at the very threshold. Lord Danby had many followers in the House, and he had a theory of his own, which he cherished with parental fondness, as little agreeing with the proposition of Lord Nottingham as with the resolution of the Commons. According to his theory the throne was *full* but in the person of the Princess of Orange. Archbishop Sancroft had persuaded himself to wish for the return of James, and his voting for the

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proposition might have enabled him to fulfil his wish ; but he refused to allow any views of policy to influence his conduct. Hurried on by rank bigotry and fanaticism he obstinately refused to take any part in the debates, or be present in parliament at the discussion of any question which in the least degree favoured the Revolution. Others who must have voted with Lord Nottingham alleged different reasons, or chose different pretences to absent themselves. Yet was he on the point of being successful, and the Revolution only triumphed by a majority of three,—forty-nine voted with Lord Nottingham, and fifty-one against him. The way being open to the resolution of the Commons, it was taken to pieces, and discussed article by article. When the House arrived at the *original contract*, it was seriously determined by a majority of seven, that such a contract existed, and moreover that James had broken it. I do not know that there is any report of this debate. It would have been curious to have learnt where the noble debaters found this *contract*, or what sense or construction they put upon it which led them to pronounce its existence. We are told, that the greater number of the Tories voted zealously for the affirmative of the contract; and this is not to be wondered at. They had been hurried to resistance, and they were anxiously looking round for some plea or pretence to justify it. Nothing could be more convenient for the purpose than an act or scheme of misconduct which must evaporate in rhetoric or metaphysics, and wherein no one was in any danger of being pointed out as a partaker or adviser. The opponents of the resolution discovered the conclusion lurking in the word *abdicate*, and succeeded in changing it to the word *desert*, which could only refer to the withdrawal from the kingdom, and insufficient by itself to support the inference of the *vacancy* of the throne. By changing the word to *desert*, they therefore defeated the *vacancy of the throne*. They attacked it in logic by withdrawing a main hinge on which it turned :—but their success was perhaps more owing to the accidental con-

CHAP. III. concurrence of Lord Danby and his friends, who did not
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 January. choose to find the *throne vacant*, but had provided a person to fill it. This concurrence gave the opponents of this essential part of the resolution a majority of fourteen. There were forty-one for it, and fifty-five against it.

The amendments were sent to the Commons, and were there strenuously resisted by the majority who had voted the original resolution, and who saw they defeated all the objects they had purposed to attain by it. In the debate whether these amendments should be agreed to, they were no longer favoured by the silence and seeming assent of those who were hostile to them in opinions and attachments. These last, encouraged by the example of their associates in the Lords, ventured to discover their principles, and indulged in a variety of criticisms and remarks on a resolution which had in the first discussion escaped in almost every part their objections. The friends of the Revolution, however, discovered a pertinaciousness proportionable to the importance of the points contended for, and they composed the majority. It was carried to send back their original vote unaltered, with the following statement of reasons:—

“ 1st, Because the word ‘deserted’ does not express their meaning so fully, it importing no more than a ‘removing,’ which is expressed by the word ‘withdrawing’ in the sentence before; therefore they conceive the word ‘abdicate’ a more proper word, imparting a ‘renouncing of the crown,’ &c.

“ 2ndly, They think they need not alter the word ‘vacant,’ because their Lordships addressed the Prince of Orange to take upon him the administration of affairs, and to send circular letters for this convention; and their Lordships appointing a day of thanksgiving, and concurring that a Popish Prince is incapable to govern, &c. justifies the Commons herein.

“ 3rdly, Because there is no person on the throne from whom the subject can have regal protection, therefore

they owe no allegiance to any, and consequently the throne is vacant." CHAP.III.

The real motives which dictated the original resolution so earnestly maintained, were far from disclosed in this statement of reasons. The amendments were eluded by minute and verbal arguments—not resisted on the great ground that they defeated the object intended by that resolution. No small ingenuity was displayed in vindicating the phrase “vacancy of the throne,” so essential to the purposes of the framers of the resolution without a farther discovery of their views.

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A free conference between the two Houses ensued on the 6th of February, in which the several points were discussed by the men of the greatest abilities on both sides. Hume sneers at the discussion that took place, saying, “one is surprised to find the topics insisted on by both sides so frivolous, more resembling the verbal disputes of the schoolmen, than the solid reasonings of statesmen and legislators.” This criticism appears to me wholly unfounded. The Lords, on their part, were nowise deficient in sagacity and penetration, and discerned and pointed out all the consequences lurking in the obscurity of the resolution. The Commons, on their side, laboured under a considerable disadvantage; they did not venture to avow these consequences, though they felt and knew them to be real, and, moreover, to have been intended. They had, therefore, to elude and evade the very acute questions put to them by their adversaries, particularly Lord Nottingham; they had to shelter themselves under subterfuges and distinctions; and it is impossible not to admire the skill and ingenuity of Mr. Somers, Sir George Treby, and Sir Robert Howard, in the execution of this very difficult task. Sir Robert Howard, indeed, who appears to have been distinguished among his contemporaries by a certain boldness of thinking on subjects of government, and who was himself the author of the words “abdicate and vacancy of the throne,” in the resolution which contained all its great results, was often tempted to escape from the circle

CHAP. III. of verbal evasion, and discover some of the large principles
 — which fermented in his mind. If Hume be understood
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 February. to have conveyed his opinion, that the other managers
 ought to have imitated or exceeded him, that all of them
 ought at once to have avowed the results they had in view,
 and openly justified them on high metaphysical grounds;
 in the first place, he shews he had little studied the state
 of the public mind at that period. If the public mind had
 been ripe for such a course of argument; if the prejudices
 of the multitude, the opinions and humours of parties had
 not required the nicest management, the most dextrous
 artifices to soothe and appease them, such elaborate obscu-
 rity would not have been deemed necessary in the resolution
 by the statesmen who framed it, and who may be supposed
 to have known what they had to encounter. In the second
 place, those high metaphysical theories of government,
 which Hume may be understood to have intended by the
 expression “the more solid reasonings of statesmen and
 legislators,” would not possess many charms for the
 readers of this day. We have seen them issuing in the
 greatest profusion from the meanest understandings, and
 handled by the most contemptible reasoners.—We have
 seen them fruitful in nothing but disorder and confusion,
 crimes and blood, and we are thoroughly disgusted and
 nauseated by them.—We are much more disposed to
 admire the sober caution, the verbal punctiliousness,
 even the pedantry of our ancestors, which we find in close
 alliance with the peace, good order, and prosperity of the
 society they had to regulate. Indeed, this tenacious and
 even pedantic adherence to forms and precedents, how-
 ever much it may excite the derision and scorn of Mon-
 sieur Benjamin Constant, and Frenchmen, may be regarded
 as a main ingredient in that system of principles which
 watches over the repose and well-being of mankind. But
 it may be said in excuse for Hume, whose general abilities
 I would not be understood to undervalue, and whose
 opinions and principles were always favourable to the
 maintenance of peace and good order, that the dreadful

volume of historical experience which we have had to CHAP.III.
peruse, had not been unrolled to his eyes.

We have, fortunately, an excellent report of the conference between the two Houses; and no other document can guide us so well to the true principles of the fathers of the Revolution, to what they were compelled to do, and what is of more importance, in forming a judgment of this great event, to their general disposition to leave things as they found them.

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The point insisted on by the Lords who managed the controversy, was, that declaring *the throne vacant* not only dispossessed James, but broke off the line of succession; so that the new government must take its rise from a principle of *election*. There was no obscurity or concealment, or want of penetration to be charged to them.

It is curious to observe the perplexity and embarrassment of the Commons. They turned themselves every way, exhausted every subtlety of refinement, and had recourse to every possible distinction to avoid admitting this conclusion; but it met them at every turn. The argument was unanswerable, and they knew it to be so. Old Serjeant Maynard was so teased and fretted, that he could not forbear stating the matter as it really stood, though not without much spleen and ill humour, and some attempt at concealment in a certain obscurity of language. His speeches disclose the real length to which the Revolution went, and mark the precise point at which it stopped:—"It is not that the Commons do say, the crown is *always and perpetually* elective, but it is more necessary that there be a supply when there is a defect, and the doing of that will be no alteration of the monarchy from a successive one to an elective." This was substantially an admission, that *pro hac vice, for that turn*, recourse must be had to an *election*:—but that the admission was extorted from him, is evident; his reluctance in delivering it, and his wish to disguise, and if possible conceal it, are observable in the studied obscurity of the language. He takes care to diminish its effect, by assuring the meeting, that the

CHAP. III. *election* to which necessity had driven them, would be only
 ————— employed to establish and consolidate the hereditary
 1689. descent of the monarchy. His spleen and ill humour at
 February. the ambiguous disclosure to which he had been compelled
 by the cogency of argument, broke out a little after:—
 “I am sure, if we be left without a government, as we
 find we are, (why else have we desired the Prince to take
 upon him the administration?) sure we must not be per-
 petually under anarchy; the word *elective* is none of the
 common’s word; neither is the making the kingdom
 elective the thing they had in their thoughts and inten-
 tions; all they mean by this matter, is to provide a supply
 for this defect in the government brought upon it by the
 late king’s mal-administration. And I do say again, this
 provision must be made; and if it be, that would not make
 the kingdom *perpetually* elective. I stand not upon any
 word, but am for the thing that a provision be made to
 supply the defect.” Sir Robert Howard was tempted to
 appeal to those first principles which he cherished in his
 own private contemplations; but he was single in his
 boldness; he had neither example nor imitator: “But
 when such difficulties are upon the nation, that we
 cannot extricate ourselves out of the lineal successor, your
 Lordships, I hope, will give us leave to remember, *salus
 populi est suprema lex.*” Yet even Sir Robert Howard,
 the boldest of the statesmen of that time, strictly con-
 fined himself within the necessity of the case before them,
 and ventured to advance no plea for going out of the
 forms of the constitution but the extreme and unavoidable
 difficulties which pressed upon them.

The conference between the two Houses did not bring
 matters to a settlement. The Commons were too much
 determined by the necessity of the case to recede from
 their resolution; and it was impossible that the Lords, who
 had the advantage in the argument, as it was carried on,
 should be convinced. In these circumstances the Prince
 saw there was no alternative but to break the silence he
 had hitherto strictly observed, and make such a declara-

tion as must have the effect of determining the most back-CHAP.III.
ward and tardy. Among these was Lord Danby. His
theory of seating the Princess of Orange on the throne
was extremely plausible, the most agreeable to the forms
of the constitution, and in the state of men's minds in the
House of Peers, and in the uncertainty and suspense into
which the public settlement was thrown, would probably
be received with much favour, and had no small prospect
of being ultimately successful. Danby took the resolution of
forwarding its success by the arts of intrigue. He opened
a correspondence with the Princess, and directly invited
her to come and claim her rights as Queen. She was too
fond and devoted a wife to listen for one moment to the
suggestion, but on the contrary, expressed great indigna-
tion at the attempt made to inveigle her into a course of
policy which her husband did not approve of. When he
learnt these clandestine practices, he was convinced no
time was to be lost. He sent for the principal lords, and
among others, Danby himself. He spoke to them with
composure, but with a composure that denoted the firm
purpose of his mind. He told them candidly, he never
would accept of the government as regent, or hold the
sceptre in subserviency to another. Either of these plans,
he said, might be wise: He did not take it upon himself to
decide; but they were to expect no assistance from him.
He would go home with his troops, and leave them to
adjust their differences among themselves. Those of the
lords who were least favourable to the Prince's views, had,
however, gone too far to be satisfied to return under the
government of the sovereign whom they had expelled.
His menace, therefore, had its full effect.—Their real or
pretended scruples vanished, and they left his presence
prepared to give no further opposition to his elevation.
Still the Prince was not so secure of a majority in their
House as not to employ other arts. To make way for him
to the throne, it was necessary to postpone the Princess
Anne, and her friends might disturb the majority. Lady
Churchill, her favourite, was gained, and her influence

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CHAP. III. used to secure her acquiescence. To this was added the promise of an ample pecuniary settlement. Lord Godolphin, whose opposition was apprehended, was persuaded to absent himself. Crew, Bishop of Durham, had signalized himself in all the obnoxious proceedings of the late reign. He had been a member of the ecclesiastical commission, and in the fervour of his loyalty to James, had loudly declared,—he looked for no better title to celebrity in history.—He was at this time lurking on the sea-coast in search of a vessel to convey him out of the kingdom; but informed of the opportunity which offered itself of cancelling all his past demerits, he hastened to add his vote to the numbers for the Prince. When the House, so prepared, met, an unqualified concurrence with the vote of the Commons was carried by a majority of fifteen; the numbers being sixty-two to forty-seven. Lord Danby himself led the way in the majority. This concurrence was signified to the Commons on the 7th of February. The Princess of Orange arrived from Holland on the 12th.

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The throne having been declared vacant, there could be no hesitation as to filling it with the Prince, and he had explicitly enough expressed his determination to accept no divided power. The sovereignty was to reside *exclusively* in him. So far a breach in the usual course of the constitution had taken place; but this only increased the anxiety in both Houses to disguise, to cover it. Lord Halifax having moved the Prince alone should be declared King, he could only find one peer to second him. It was resolved to associate the Princess, *heiress* to the crown on setting aside the Catholic line, if not in the power, at least, in the title. Accordingly, on the motion of Lord Danby, the Prince and *Princess* were declared King and Queen; but in order to secure that sole exclusive sovereignty, so necessary to support the Revolution, and without which it was known the Prince's concurrence could not be obtained, a resolution passed the next day, that notwithstanding the joint title, the whole regal power should be in the Prince alone, to be exercised in the name of William and Mary.

Thus was the crown placed on the head of the man who had CHAP. III.
 so well earned it, and who could alone defend it in the change
 by which it had been carried from an unworthy sovereign. 1689.
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The whole of the process by which William Prince of Orange was seated on the throne of these realms, has been accurately described. In the progress of the narrative, little in the way of commentary or observation has been hazarded. Every part is extracted from documents of unimpeachable authenticity. The course of parliamentary proceedings has been faithfully traced from the journals of parliament; and when the speeches of distinguished personages acting in the very crisis of the Revolution have been referred to, the reference to them has been as delivered in the best reports extant. If now we come to the conclusion suggested by the whole, it cannot be denied, that in strict analysis, the principle of what may be termed *election* was resorted to, to make room for King William, according to the reluctant admission extorted from Serjeant Maynard at the conference of the two Houses; but it is not to be inferred that a general principle was established, which let in the whole body of mankind to a competition. William could not indeed claim the crown by hereditary right, on any receivable supposition; but though not absolutely *heir*, he was nearly allied to it. He derived from James I. to whom parliament was afterwards obliged to go back in search of Protestant heirs. This proximity to the line of inheritance, which assisted in hiding and throwing out of view the irregularity of his elevation, was matter of parliamentary rejoicing and thanksgiving. The words of the act of parliament are most decisive on this head. The Lords and Commons in this most solemn record break out into an extraordinary strain of self-congratulation, declaring "they consider it as a marvellous providence, and merciful goodness of Almighty God to this nation, to have preserved their said Majesties' royal persons most happily to reign over them on the throne of their ancestors, for which, from the bottom of their hearts, they render unto Him their humblest thanks and praises."

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The anxiety of the Commons in particular, to impress an hereditary character on the Revolution was extreme, and manifested in circumstances so minute as to escape the ordinary reporters. The following particular, overlooked by Grey, is given to us by the most authentic reporter, Lord Somers, in his paper of notes:—It being deemed expedient to accompany the filling of the throne by some instrument explanatory of the rights of the nation which had been violated, this resolution was proposed,—“That before the committee proceed to nominate a person to fill the throne, they will provide such things as are absolutely necessary for securing our religion, laws, and liberties.” Ettrick: To proceed to *nominate* looks like *election*. Mr. Paley seconds it, not to use the word “nominate,” as it comes too near *electing* in the question about supplying the vacancy. Mr. Sacheverell: *Declare* is too much; the Lords may quarrel. The resolution proposed was altered. Resolved, That, “before the committee proceed to fill the throne, now vacant, they will proceed to secure our religion, laws, and liberties.”

The Lords, after declaring William and Mary King and Queen, proceeded to other limitations of the crown; and their resolution ran in these words:—“That upon their decease it should devolve to the heirs of the body of Mary; and in default of such issue to the Princess Anne, and the heirs of her body; and in default of such issue to the heirs of the body of William; and in default of such issue to the person that should be named in such manner as should be limited and regulated by Act of Parliament; and in default of such limitation to the heirs of the Prince.” The resolution was transmitted to the Commons. From them the scheme of placing William on the throne had originated. Yet so strictly would they confine themselves within the *necessity* of the case, and so apprehensive were they of the notion that they had claimed the right of *electing*, that they struck out the two last clauses of the resolution. They would not represent parliament *naming*, which might be construed equivalent to *electing* the per-

son to fill the throne ; and zealously as they were attached to William, they would not plant him as a root from which a new inheritance was to spring up. They had had regard to his *hereditary* character, deriving as he did from the ancient royal stock, in admitting him ; and they refused to recognise him as a mere uncircumstanced individual, however deserving.

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Notwithstanding this extreme, and it may be termed pedantic, caution in both Houses of Parliament, and in all the distinguished persons connected with the Revolution, it was some years ago pompously maintained by a reverend politician, who enjoyed the fugitive celebrity of the day, that at the Revolution a general principle was asserted by which the *people* of England had a right of *electing*, and cashiering their governors at pleasure. Here it was not only maintained that the two Houses of Parliament exerted the right of election, but that the *people* did so. Now the *people*, in the vocabulary of these gentlemen, is not the greater number of the society as it exists, in England for instance, digested and methodised into the ancient corporate bodies of the kingdom, subjected to the various limitations, qualifications, and arrangements of the statute book, speaking by the House of Commons, representing the freeholders in the counties, and the burgesses in their several burghs and vills. The *people*, whose rights they proclaim and celebrate with so much complacency, is the numerical population of a country, the multitude told by the head, without any reference to the classifications or arrangements of any particular scheme of society. On this supposed resolution of the government and society of England into what have been understood the first elements of all society, and the whole population of the country coming forward in consequence of this resolution to elect their government at the period of the Revolution, there is a remarkable speech of Sir Robert Sawyer, in the first debate in the Commons on the 28th of January. Sir Robert was one of the first lawyers of his time. His speech was delivered in the very crisis of the

CHAP. III. Revolution, in the presence of all the great men immediately concerned in its accomplishment, and seems to have commanded the acquiescence of all parties. It underwent no contradiction or criticism from any. It may, therefore, be deemed an authority of the highest character on the subject. It is remarkable that Lord Somers has taken unusual pains in his note of the speech, and his report leads us to a complete view of it. The colouring of Grey is very indistinct, yet he supplies us with some expressions and phrases which have the appearance of having been used by Sir Robert.

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“The proof that there is no dissolution of the government is, that we are sitting here, the Commons, or the third estate of the realm, which we are in the regular course, and constitution monarchical. The Prince’s declaration speaks of the meeting of a parliament, and a parliament supposes the constitution. Were the people called in by a subversion of the government, neither we nor the House of Peers should be now deliberating. We, of course, are not the people in their collective capacity, nor do we represent the *people* according to any theoretical notions of the people. Copyholders, leaseholders, those who have less than forty shillings a year freehold, those who have nothing, women, children, form a part of what some persons call the *people*. Those we do not represent. —We are, agreeably to the constitution of our forefathers, the third estate of the realm, the House of Commons, representing the freeholders and burgesses who are not a fourth part of the multitude or people. We take oaths before we sit, and these bind us to the hereditary succession of the crown. As for the Peers on this supposed dissolution of things, they could not meet as an estate. They would be merely individuals representing their own votes. Every thing then admonishes us, that the government subsists, and we have only to supply a partial deficiency. We and the Peers are convened on this extraordinary occasion on the single principle of *necessity*; not to dispose of crowns, much less for purposes of

greater latitude, but merely to set the government on its true bottom. So the Prince and nation have judged it."

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As the *people*, in the extended sense in which theorists have delighted to celebrate its powers, is not easily met with, never perhaps since the creation of the world, at least in any great country, performed any act or function of government, and is incapable of coming into action, demagogues have usually selected the multitude of the capital, and complimented them with the name of the *people*. During the debates on the Corn Bill, not long ago, we must remember that a mob breaking windows, and plundering houses, was called, in the very House of Commons, the people, and much regret expressed that their power should have been so unprofitably employed. Mobs intervened on two or three occasions in the course of the Revolution, and it is proper to shew how they were regarded by the great men at the time, and to ascertain whether the Revolution was the work of their hands. A mob assembled to greet the return of James, after his first flight from the capital. These certainly were not the authors of the Revolution; for it is almost certain that if it had been put to the vote at the time, whether James was to remain king, with Jefferies for his chancellor, and Father Petre for his privy counsellor, it would have been carried in the affirmative by acclamation. A mob assembled again a few days after to welcome the arrival of the Prince, and that day they would certainly have chosen him king or emperor; but so little regard did the Prince pay to their suffrages, that he refused to exhibit himself to their view. He would not consult them or admit their interposition, much less invoke their assistance, when driven to great perplexity to form the appearance of a House of Commons. Two days after the Lords transmitted their amendments to the Commons, the mob assembled a third time. They crowded round the two Houses of Parliament, forming themselves into a regular line at the door of each house; and as they saw the members

CHAP. III. approach, welcomed them with repeated cheerings, or
 —————
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Mobs are hurried along by the impulse of the moment, and there is perhaps no cry in which they would not be brought to join. They shouted at the heels of James, and afterwards as readily at the heels of William; but the nation was not as I have said favourable to the Revolution which seated the latter on the throne. This may be thought an impeachment of it, and a disparagement of its glories; but is a truth, I am afraid, which could easily be proved by a reference to contemporary writers of all parties. In the year 1716, it is known a House of Commons, constituted for three years, voted itself constituted for seven. This was done at the instance of the most determined Whigs and warmest patriots. Lord Somers in particular declared his decided approbation of the

* Grey's Debates, February 2, 1689.

measure*. What reconciled him to the flagrant violation of principle manifested in this case, was his knowledge of the dispositions of the multitude. They were zealous for the Stuart family, and impatient of the establishment which had superseded them. The people were made free and happy in spite of themselves, as it has happened in almost every instance where freedom and happiness have been obtained. Let those who are so fond of interposing the name of the *people* on all occasions learn this, and be silent. If the *people* were fairly consulted, the period of their triumph would be very short. The multitude would clamorously applaud their downfall and punishment.

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Yet an opinion has prevailed and found its way into a number of pamphlets and popular publications, as if the whole people of England had assembled on Salisbury Plain, or on as many plains as could contain the whole undistinguished number, and there been duly admitted to a poll, had voted for the Revolution, as they might have torn up the ancient government root and branch, and planted the laws and institutions of Japan in their place. This opinion has lately been promulgated with a sort of official solemnity by a Monsieur Caulincourt, Duke of Vicenza, and may pass current among foreigners unacquainted with the real circumstances of our Revolution. The history of these circumstances has abundantly refuted it; but it may be asked whence it originated, how it ever came to have been so confidently disseminated? The truth is, it is to be traced to a certain Essay on Government, which has acquired much celebrity under the name of John Locke, the philosopher. Locke expressly asserts *his theory* was exemplified in the instance of the Revolution, which at the time of his publication was a recent event, and he has published his theory as a defence and justification of the transaction. As I am persuaded it wants no such defence, but that on the contrary, this supposed defence has had a tendency entirely to misrepresent

* Coxe's Sir Robert Walpole, vol. i. p. 77.

CHAP. III. it, and convey the most erroneous impression of its character and nature, I have been tempted to examine the whole work at some length; and there are many circumstances which render this examination not an impertinent digression in the present history, having stamped a sort of authority on the work of Locke.

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Locke, the
philoso-
pher.

John Locke was one of the persecuted individuals in the latter end of the reign of Charles II. and left England about the same time with the Earl of Shaftsbury. He had shared the patronage and friendship of this nobleman during the period of his good fortune, and generously adhered to him in his adversity and exile. He did not think it prudent to return after the death of his patron, but continued his residence in Holland during the whole reign of James. He was chiefly occupied with literary investigations and discussions; but his connection with Lord Shaftsbury, and his known opinions on government introduced him to the intimate acquaintance of many of the illustrious exiles who gathered round the Prince of Orange at this period. The Revolution summoned him to England; but the work was nearly consummated before his arrival. He came in the fleet which brought the Princess of Orange. The year after, the controversy of the Non-jurors was at its height, and they published a number of tracts and pamphlets in support of their absurd doctrines. Among others, they revived a foolish performance of a certain Sir Robert Filmer, entitled Patriarcha, celebrating it with the same zeal and clamour as we have seen in our days used in favour of productions every way as contemptible. However preposterous Patriarcha must appear to any readers of this day, who shall take the trouble of looking over this obsolete tract now condemned to dust and worms, yet it should seem it enjoyed at one period no small vogue, as we may judge from a pompous commendatory epistle prefixed to it, addressed by a good doctor, by name Peter Heylin, to the son of the author. Peter says, "that it must give such satisfaction to all our great masters in the schools of

politic, that all other tractates in that kind would be found CHAP.III.
unnecessary." Peter and the author were wont "to take
sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God
as friends." Locke, who was a warm partisan of the
Revolution, undertook to answer Filmer, whose work was
understood to attack it by anticipation. How he executed
this task it is unnecessary to inquire. It was no great
triumph to be victorious over so feeble an adversary.
Locke has carried his usual indefatigable prolixity into
the refutation. That he was requested to take up his
pen against Filmer by some of the great statesmen who
had accomplished the Revolution, is probable enough.
They lived in habits of private intercourse with him, and
had conceived much esteem for him as an ingenious spe-
culator in different branches of moral philosophy. Sir
John Dalrymple goes further, and says, he was employed
by the ministry of the time. I do not know on what
authority he has hazarded this assertion, as he does not
refer to his source of information. There is, however,
a tone and manner in the preface which countenances the
assertion of Dalrymple.

Locke's work is divided into two parts, nowise con-
nected with each other. The first is the refutation of
Filmer, and the second contains his own theory of Govern-
ment. Those who might have been pleased with the first,
might have read the other with no manner of conviction,
and little approbation. However, as Locke declares his
theory to be a representation and vindication of the Revo-
lution, and as none of the great men of the time took the
pains to contradict him, the opinion has been adopted by
many uninformed persons, and his work considered as an
exposition of the true principles on which it was founded,
and which its authors desired to be regarded as theirs.
That Lord Somers and his associates could have contem-
plated it in this light, is utterly impossible; but they
regarded the work as the harmless speculation of a liberal
thinker attached to the general cause of liberty, and dis-
missed it without further notice. Had the curtain which

CHAP.III. hid futurity from their eyes been drawn up; if they could
— have seen Locke's work become the manual of rebels and murderers, what would have been their horror to find their silence construed into an approbation of it, and the sanction of their pure and unspotted names stamped upon it? Certain it is, that though Locke was himself an excellent man in every relation of life, and though for the most part he kept himself in the obscurity of generals, which disarmed his doctrines during his day of their pernicious qualities, he must be esteemed the direct ancestor of all the detestable firebrands of our times. *His are their principles.* The only difference is, they have made the application of them to their own times and countries. It may be truly affirmed, that not the Koran of Mahomet has produced a more frightful desolation of the globe, than this part of Locke's essay.

When it comes to be examined, it will be found so crude and undigested a production, that no small wonder will arise how it should ever have given birth to such consequences. No one will be surprised at the contempt expressed for it by Hume;—but, miserable as the performance is in itself, it has acquired celebrity from the general fame of Locke as a philosopher.

Were I to hazard an opinion on a subject not connected with the line of my present inquiries, and out of the sphere of my immediate studies, I should say Locke's general fame is much beyond what any of his works will justify. It is as a metaphysical philosopher he must lay claim to this fame, and his Essay on Human Understanding be the foundation of it. He has written a variety of treatises on other subjects, but not one will be deemed much above mediocrity. I am not sufficiently conversant with the history of metaphysics to pronounce whether Locke has been the author of any discoveries. I have often heard one of the best informed metaphysical speculators now living, declare that his Essay was little more than an expansion of Hobbes's Treatise of Human Nature; and he went so far as to add, that in treating the same

subjects, Hobbes appeared to him much more luminous and satisfactory. What I have called the indefatigable prolixity of Locke, is very apparent throughout the whole of his Essay. He often obscures principles by his labour to explain them. His explanations run out into so many branches and ramifications as to load and encumber the whole matter. Locke has adopted the very unphilosophical notion of general abstract ideas which he found delivered by the generality of writers before him. Bishop Berkley, by exploding this notion, and shewing that what were called general abstract ideas were merely words, using the admirable illustration of counters at a card table, appears to me to have done more to simplify, and by simplifying to extend the science of metaphysics, than Locke in his very prolix and much celebrated Essay. This opinion I hazard with unfeigned diffidence, and with the profoundest deference for better informed judgments. Hartley will, I believe, be regarded by the generality of metaphysicians as the true Sir Isaac Newton of metaphysics; yet how little is he known to foreigners in comparison of Locke. Indeed Locke's fame is now part of the literary fame of his country. Regarding it in this light, I should be disposed to acquiesce in it, had it not been used to give an adventitious and pernicious currency to his wretched theory of Government. Allowing him every tribute of praise and admiration as a metaphysical abstract philosopher, it would not be difficult to prove that his tracks of investigation in this capacity had a tendency to lead him to very erroneous conclusions in politics, and where *man in civil society* was the question. As an abstract philosopher he would be perpetually intent on classifying and arranging every thing. He would be looking every where for rules and general propositions.—Now, on the subject of government and human conduct, nothing is more dangerous than this habit, or more fruitful in false conclusions. In this science it does not follow, that because a thing cannot *generally* be denied, it ought therefore to be *generally* conceded. There are many

CHAP. III. things on which no rule can be laid down, on which the
——— wise will not pronounce at all. There are many cases to be left to their particular circumstances. Particular circumstances shall entirely alter their classification, so that the same thing which must be deemed bad under one combination, shall be good under another. Instances in illustration of this doctrine will occur in the discussion of Locke's theory.

The object of this theory is to establish a test, or criterion, of legitimate government,—of such a government, as by right and in morality can command the obedience of its subjects. The test proposed has no reference to the operation, whether beneficent or noxious of a government, to its effects, the prosperity or misery of the people governed. A land shall be alive with industry, and smile with plenty and elegance; and yet, Locke, in prosecution of his theory, shall pronounce its inhabitants absolved from all ties of allegiance to the government, from which they were actually reaping all these diversified blessings. His test is the mode in which the government was originally established, which, to obtain his approbation, must have been by the *choice of the people*; that is, of all the individuals without distinction of rank, property, or talents, who were to submit to its control and influence. This Locke repeatedly affirms in the course of his work.—In his preface he pays King William the compliment to suppose he derived his authority from the choice of his (Locke's) people. I am persuaded, from the integrity and sincerity which distinguished the character of the philosopher, that he did not intend this as a mere compliment, a sort of passport for his doctrine, under which he felt himself emboldened to pronounce sentence of condemnation upon all other governments. This low stratagem was reserved for later times. Locke, however mistaken, thought himself proceeding upon a truth. But the sentence upon every government which did not agree with his theory, he certainly passes:—"To make good his title in the consent of the people; *which being the only one of*

all lawful government, &c.—*Preface.* Again, in Chapter CHAP.III. VIII. “of the Beginning of Political Societies,” he says, “and this (the choice of the people), is that, and *that only*, which did or could give beginning to any lawful government in the world.” The same notion he inculcates in other passages. To make use of the words which the immortal Burke applied to an humble retailer of his speculations in our times, he has, more than once, in his work, “put the kings of the world into one sweeping clause of ban and anathema, and proclaimed them usurpers by circles of longitude and latitude.”—It has been shewn the exception in favour of the government of his own country would have had no effect; for it is founded on a supposition wholly imaginary, and is like a passport given by mistake to an individual under circumstances different from those described, which would not be allowed. Locke did not exactly venture to carry his test to the several governments around him, as a sentence of excommunication must universally have followed. He did not venture to say the monarchy of France or Spain is not entitled to the obedience of its subjects, as not having been established by their consent in the manner I have traced out; but to remove all possible doubt as to the character and tendency of his opinions and principles, he has found means to give them a practical illustration from the governments of his own times. Presuming on the general hatred of Turkish domination, and feeling he might there apply his test with impunity, he says, “Who doubts but the Grecian christians, descendants of the ancient possessors of that country, may justly cast off the Turkish yoke?” &c. The sentences before and after the one quoted, must be read likewise.—It will be seen the right of the Greeks to throw off the Turkish yoke is not derived from its intolerable pressure; from the radical and incorrigible vices of the Turkish government; but, from the circumstance that they never, in the first instance, *consented to its being* imposed, or the government established over them. Locke’s theory, then, is not an innocent fiction, merely explanatory of the rights

CHAP. III. of the governed, and the duties of the governors, as some ingenious speculators I have known were content to suppose. It puts every government on earth on its trial, and calls upon it to produce its title. It is satisfied with no title, as has appeared, but *one*; and that arising from a supposed fact, the deliberate election of the people. If this supposed fact can be proved in no assignable instance to have taken place, some other title must be found for governments, or the monstrous consequence admitted that none existing is entitled to the obedience of its subjects.—To shew the theory to rest upon a fiction, is at once to prove it false and most pernicious. The results flowing from this fictitious foundation will be developed in the course of this discussion; and they must strike every mind, as wholly subversive of human society. These are so nearly allied with the supposition of a fiction, that Locke could not have proceeded on such a consciousness without incurring the imputation of downright frenzy.—It will be evident, from the whole tenor of his argument, that he himself was persuaded he was building upon *a fact*; and the first step to his refutation will be—to shew he was mistaken,—that his original of government is entirely imaginary, contradicted in the first place by the early accounts of nations; and, secondly, by all the examples selected from history, in order to establish it in any case. Involved in this argument will be a demonstration of all the pernicious consequences to which his theory would give birth. Had it not been fraught with these pernicious consequences, yet, proceeding on a fiction, it would have been exposed to heavy objections, and it would have been rendering a service to correct reasoning to disengage any of the truths it was brought to support, from the fiction introduced as their foundation. As I hinted, in adverting to the *original contract* mentioned in the resolution of the House of Commons, it is an offence of the first magnitude against the interests of truth, to make it in any way the offspring of fiction. When the fiction is removed, the truth itself is in hazard of being considered as a doubtful and problematic.

tical proposition. Let truth always stand on its own foundations; let the rights of the governed be demonstrated on principles which will undergo the severest investigation, and not be erected on an election of the people, which never intervened. CHAP. III.

If government ever arose from the choice of the people, as Locke has explained it, it must have done so in those early ages of mankind, and among those rude, untutored tribes where all government is supposed to have first begun. Locke accordingly opens his theory with a *state of nature* which preceded all government, and ventures to explain how government was created out of it. Here his whole process of the *choice of the people* will appear, not by deduction or inference, but by his own explicit and emphatical exposition.—There was a time, according to him, in the history of the world, when men lived without any manner of government whatsoever. They owed no political obedience to any one;—they were subject to no mode or degree of restraint or control, but what their own consciences interposed, what the light of reason discovered, or revelation, I presume to add, dictated, if revelation had obtained admittance among them. There must have been, no doubt, the distinction of parents and children, of old and young, of strength and talents, and activity. For it is impossible to recognize *men* without these distinctions; but these nowise operated to prepare the way for government, at least such a government as would be admitted rightful and obligatory. The child, when he was absolutely helpless, would be trained up by his parents, and in training him up they must have exercised some authority over him. But no traces of this authority remained when he arrived at manhood. This Locke fully inculcates in a prolix chapter “of Paternal Power.” “But when he comes to the estate that made his father a freeman, the son is a freeman too;” that is, as may be gathered from the context, he is, in respect of *political* obedience and authority, in no other relation to the father, than the father is to him. Moreover, these men without govern-

CHAP. III. ment, though of different talents, industry, and activity, were precisely equal to each other. Property, too, had got footing among them; but this, though when left to its own spontaneous tendencies, must have been unequally divided, produced no diminution of the general equality. At length, one fine morning, all the individuals inhabiting a particular district of country, wandering, for example, in some particular forest, bethought themselves that some mode of government, some species of magistracy, with a certain limited authority, would best secure to each whatever property he was actually possessed of, and best promote his well-being in general. They all accordingly assembled in a great plain, and it was first put to the vote whether they should submit to any government at all. In this meeting, convoked by no one, and where no one is represented as presiding, all had equally a vote, each vote carrying precisely the same weight, all manner of influence being excluded. The old and the young, the strong and the feeble, the man with a large and small property, the active and the lazy, the eloquent and the silent—all, without distinction, came to the poll, and were admitted as so many figures, No. 1, 2, 3, in a table of arithmetic. The first question having been disposed of, and it having been determined that there was to be a government, a fresh poll was opened as to the particular mode that was to be adopted, and the majority of undistinguished votes decided as before.

This is Locke's account how government first arose among men, so as to be rightful or legitimate. If any particular government could not be traced to this original, the necessary inference would be, that its subjects were not bound to obey it. This would result from the mere circumstance of laying a fiction as the foundation of its title; and that this supposed original was wholly a fiction, would, in almost every conceivable instance, be satisfactorily proved. But the mischiefs of Locke's theory do not stop here. His fancied origin of government excludes all provision for its continuance after it has been created,

or even for its taking in all the individuals within any CHAP.III.
assignable extent of country. As a logician he proceeds
to deduce, with the most rigorous exactness, all the conse-
quences with which his principle of *the choice of the people*
was pregnant, and is arrested or retarded in his progress
by no consideration of human happiness or suffering—an
instance, to shew how ill-qualified a mere speculative phi-
losopher is for disquisitions wholly conversant about
degrees and circumstances. The individuals who had
actually come to the poll and given their votes, are, he says,
bound by the decision of the majority, and that too for
their lives. But the obligation does not extend to their
children. They have just the same right to elect a govern-
ment as their fathers had before them. Nor does the act
of the majority create any obligation for any individual
who chose to stay away from the poll, and preferred wan-
dering an ungoverned animal in the woods. No tacit or
constructive consent is to be admitted against such an
individual. What, though he for a considerable time
submit to the laws and magistrates established by his
neighbours, and “enjoy privileges and protection under
them”—will these circumstances weave a tie which shall
bind him to the community, or insure his obedience at
least for his life?—“No,” says Locke, with the most perti-
nacious extravagance in so many words, “they make not
a man member of that society: nothing can make any
man so, but his actually entering into it by *positive engage-
ment, express promise, and compact*.” That is, he must
come in his own proper person to the place of election, and
deliberately give his vote that he chooses to submit to
government, and to the particular form in question.

To these inferences and positions, which Locke not only
admits, but actually lays down himself, must be added
two others, which he would indeed repel, but which follow
with equal cogency. He says, “the individual going to
the place of election, and giving his vote in his turn, is
bound by the decision of the majority.” Well may it be
inquired, why so? Why is the majority to supersede the

CHAP. III. inclinations of the individual who votes against them? No good reason is assigned;—"because the society must act as a body." But how many bodies are there in which the agreement of two-thirds, or even unanimity is required? A familiar instance presents itself,—our petty juries must be unanimous before their verdict is taken. Again; why is the individual bound for life?—Why may he not say, I was willing to submit to the restraints of government yesterday, but I have changed my mind, and I prefer the savage life to day; or, your government pleased me well enough yesterday, but another pleases me better to day? "But such a constitution as this would make the mighty leviathan of a shorter duration than the feeblest creatures, and not let it last the day it was born in; which cannot be supposed, till we can think that rational creatures should desire and constitute societies only to be dissolved." What duration does Locke himself give to this mighty leviathan? What principles of stability has he given to the scheme of society he supposes? Nature, as if intent upon perpetuity, has, in her wise and beautiful economy, moulded the constitution of the human race in such a manner, that a chasm or breaking off never appears;—one generation *entirely new* never is in being.—Generations run into each other. According to the rule observed by the masters of the Grecian drama, the stage is never empty.—The fathers are not removed when the children are coming on. The parts of the work are dove-tailed and indented in each other. Locke, it has been mentioned, gives to every generation the right of entirely rescinding and overturning what the generation before had established. He and his disciples next suppose, that at every assignable moment this new and distinct generation is in existence and ready to perform its functions, thus contradicting the whole plan and order of nature which has been traced. On these two principles is built what is called the *sovereignty of the people*. *The people is this new generation*, nowise bound by the act of their fathers. It might be doubted whether a doctrine so absurd and pernicious was laid down in so many words by

Locke himself. It might be thought to be only an inference of some of his followers reasoning upon his principles. — CHAP. III.

But the reader has only to look at the nineteenth chapter of his Essay "on the Dissolution of Government," and he will see it exposed without disguise.

According to this hopeful doctrine, every government on earth is no better than a mere puppet-show. King, Lords, and Commons, are so many well-drest puppets, acting their parts for the amusement of the *sovereign people*, who are looking on; and according to the humour they are in, or the transitory caprice which seizes them, may either applaud, or condemn the whole exhibition to appear no more. That they will it, one of their great doctors has expressly said, is sufficient. No sense of happiness enjoyed, no conviction of advantages derived, no reverence for their ancestors is to operate as any restraint upon their will. *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas*, is precisely their maxim. They are not pleased.—No further inquiry is to be made; the well-drest puppets are instantly to be broken to pieces.

To this is reduced so grave and solemn a matter as government, which the wise and the good have always approached with reverential awe; which numberless theories have been formed to connect some how with the dispositions of Heaven; which is demonstrably interwoven with our most sacred duties; and which *divine* revelation itself has not disdained to hallow and consecrate. A *human* power is supposed, and systematically absolved from all those considerations of moral prudence by which the conduct of *human beings* is by the arrangements of Providence to be regulated.

If the *people*, the numbers, are not bound to the government of their fathers, as little are they bound to the soil that gave them birth, which encloses the ashes of their ancestors, which is decorated with the monuments of their glory. All feeling is out of the question in Locke's cold, metaphysical system;—all considerations give way to his hard logical deductions. He knows nothing of *degrees*

CHAP. III. *and circumstances*, of high prudence sliding into duty. As ——— he cannot find that *every individual* is in all circumstances bound to the government under which he was born, or under which his forefathers lived, it follows, in his view of things, and it *does follow* in the contemplation of the logocian, but not of the statesman or true moral philosopher, that collections of individuals, however extended or long compacted, that whole societies of men, have precisely the same liberty of emigrating when and whithersoever they please. Accordingly, Locke sets all the nations of the world adrift, and permits them to rove from one extremity to another, without any regard to those who came before them, or are to come after them.

The question reasonably arises, what end could be answered? what good could be accomplished by such ephemeral societies? by societies and governments liable every moment to be dissolved, possessing no principle of stability either in time or place? To make government efficacious for any salutary purpose, the labour of ages is required. No one generation can hope to accomplish any, certainly very few of its multiplied ends.—Generations of sovereigns and men must treasure up and accumulate for each other. Besides, every institution that is new, acts, from the mere circumstance of its *novelty*, with a harshness and severity which time only can wear away. The habits and manners of men are not *made* to it; the parts have not fully coalesced or united together.

Locke has answered the question “of the Ends of Political Society,” in a most meagre and jejune chapter of about half a page. Good or evil to man were nearly out of the contemplation of his theory, and accordingly the subject occupies but a very narrow space in it. He says, the individuals without government, when they assembled in a large plain to choose one, were moved by a desire to secure their properties. If any time had elapsed since the first establishment of the principle of property, property would already be in the hands of a few, and the *many* would clamorously call for a new division; or, to speak

properly, for the annihilation of property. *Property*, in CHAP.III. its nature and character, deserts the lazy, careless habits of the many, to accumulate in the hands of the provident, enterprising, diligent *few*. Hence *property* must gather into masses, and hence *numbers* will ever eye it with envy and malevolence. Were *numbers* to assemble in the manner Locke has supposed, the most grateful proposition to them would be the Agrarian law, as proposed by the most licentious Roman demagogue, or the Spencean plan of these times.

Perhaps, in the last analysis, the preservation and security of property may be admitted, with Locke, as "the great end of political society." But to obtain, preserve, and secure, how much is to be done? what barriers are to be raised? what institutions to be adjusted? how many passions of the human mind are to be satisfied, controlled, diverted, managed? Governments must not only be of long duration, covered with the hoar of ages, but societies of men chained to particular spots by all the motives fitted to counteract their natural levity and inconstancy. Thus fixed, all the talents, skill, and exertions of men are sharpened and excited by the spirit of emulation, which communicates itself from one society to another. Nothing of all this seems to have presented itself to the mind of Locke.—He scatters the whole grouping to the winds. How lame and impotent his chapter on "the Ends of Political Society," compared with the magnificent exposition of the immortal Burke? Never were the purposes of society and government so eloquently explained:—never, therefore, was the most important part of political philosophy so nobly treated. The necessity of longevity to governments, for the purposes for which they exist, is distinctly traced and irresistibly inculcated. The passage is of importance to my argument, besides the pleasure I shall feel in transcribing it. It is one of the noblest effusions ever produced by the most comprehensive and philosophical understanding, warmed and impregnated by the richest and most vigorous imagination.

CHAP.III. "This policy appears to me the result of profound reflection; or rather, the happy effect of following nature, which is wisdom without reflection, and above it. A spirit of innovation is generally the result of a selfish temper and confined views. People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors. Besides, the people of England well know that the idea of inheritance furnishes a sure principle of conservation, and a sure principle of transmission, without at all excluding a principle of improvement. It leaves acquisition free, but it secures what it acquires. Whatever advantages are obtained by a state proceeding on these maxims are locked fast as in a sort of family settlement; grasped as in a kind of mortmain for ever. By a constitutional policy, working after the pattern of nature, we receive, we hold, we transmit our government and our privileges in the same manner in which we enjoy, and transmit our property and our lives. The institutions of policy, the goods of fortune, the gifts of Providence, are handed down to us, and from us in the same course and order. Our political system is placed in a just correspondence and symmetry with the order of the world, and with the mode of existence decreed to a permanent body composed of transitory parts; wherein, by the disposition of a stupendous wisdom, moulding together the great mysterious incorporation of the human race, the whole, at one time, is never old, or middle-aged, or young; but in a condition of unchangeable constancy, moves on through the varied tenor of perpetual decay, fall, renovation, and progression. Thus, by preserving the method of nature in the conduct of the state, in what we improve we are never wholly new; in what we retain, we are never wholly obsolete. By adhering in this manner, and on those principles to our forefathers, we are guided, not by the superstition of antiquarians, but by the spirit of philosophic analogy. In this choice of inheritance we have given to our frame of polity the image of a relation in blood; binding up the constitution of our country with our dearest domestic ties; adopting our fundamental laws

into the bosom of our family affections; keeping inseparable, and cherishing with the warmth of all their combined and mutually reflected charities, our state, our hearths, our sepulchres, and our altars. Through the same plan of a conformity to nature in our artificial institutions, and by calling in the aid of her unerring and powerful instincts, to fortify the fallible and feeble contrivances of our reason, we have derived several other, and those no small benefits, from considering our liberties in the light of an inheritance. Always acting as if in the presence of canonized forefathers, the spirit of freedom, leading in itself to misrule and excess, is tempered with an awful gravity. This idea of a liberal descent inspires us with a sense of habitual native dignity, which prevents that upstart insolence, almost inevitably adhering to, and disgracing those who are the first acquirers of any distinction. By this means our liberty becomes a noble freedom. It carries an imposing and majestic aspect;—it has a pedigree, and illustrating ancestors;—it has its bearings and its ensigns armorial; it has its gallery of portraits, its monumental inscriptions, its records, evidences, and titles. We procure reverence to our civil institutions, on the principle upon which nature teaches us to revere individual men; on account of their age, and on account of those from whom they are descended. All your sophisters cannot produce any thing better adapted to preserve a rational and manly freedom than the course that we have pursued, who have chosen our nature rather than our speculations, our breasts rather than our inventions, for the great conservatories and magazines of our rights and privileges*.”

To expose Locke's theory, is really to refute it. His governments obviously can answer no purpose of government whatsoever. They counteract the whole process so finely drawn by the pen of Burke. No good to man can spring up under them; and, by necessary conclusion, the theory of them is false. This is enough for the *true*

* Burke's Reflections, &c.

CHAP. III. *moral* reasoner. He can recognise no truth but in the human well being;—he knows, he feels, that *right* is only power exerted conformably to the rules of human happiness. Men having a *right* to make themselves miserable, cannot be maintained without introducing a confusion in ideas, and hazarding a solecism in language.

But there are persons who will not be satisfied with this scheme of reasoning, which, however, must be conclusive with all sound moral speculators. If they can establish the fact, that government has at different times been established by the choice of the people, they will conclude, with Locke, that none which cannot be traced to such an origin is legitimate. They will not be deterred by the consequences;—they will be content to abide by all the logical results deducible from such a fact. Many good men, in their zeal to destroy bad governments, will be willing to acquiesce in a system which takes away all security from the best. The state of nature described by Locke, has, in particular, been extremely seducing to heated imaginations. It has been adopted with zeal and enthusiasm by Rousseau. I have not his *Contrat Social* before me; but as far as I remember, the whole theory of it revolves upon this supposed state of nature. If it were conceded, that such a state ever existed, that men were at once without government, and every means and ability of choosing one, with those clear, uninfluenced faculties which Locke has described, they might, no doubt, have proceeded to such a choice; and if such a choice could have taken place, as it must be allowed the most reasonable way of establishing a government, it might be inferred, no other mode of creation was to be admitted. Besides, the full character of Locke's theory will not be manifested, if it is not shewn that it rests wholly on a chimerical supposition. This shewn, it will be immediately discernible that it is subversive of every government upon earth, and the consequences produced by the assent which it has received in our times as an incontrovertible political creed, will no longer be a matter of wonder.

When the reader comes to the sequel of these remarks, CHAP. III. he will feel no surprise that Locke has not been able to produce any example from history, or refer to the narratives of any travellers or others for the proof of his state of nature, and his origin of government. The utter absence of argument on so material a point in his theory, has led some persons, as I before hinted, to conclude that not only he built upon a fiction, but that he really intended to do so; I have, I hope, shewn the absurdity of this supposition, by adverting to the consequences of a fiction as the origin of all *rightful* government, which such a man as Locke, with his pure and virtuous views of human society, could never for one moment have contemplated. This is further confirmed by the apology he interposes for not producing any instances tending to shew that the foundations of his theory were not derived from his imagination, but were matters of history and fact. "And if we may not suppose men ever to have been in the state of nature, because we hear not much of them in such a state, we may as well suppose the armies of Salmassar and Xerxes were never children, because we hear little of them, till they were men and embodied in armies." After hazarding this remark, which, he conceived, dispensed him from the necessity of producing any instances or entering into any proof upon the subject, he seems a few paragraphs after to have been in hopes he had found an example to his purpose, and accordingly boldly quotes a certain Josephus Acosta. "And if Josephus Acosta's word may be taken, he tells us, that in many parts of America there was no government at all."—"There are great and apparent conjectures," says he, "that these men, (speaking of those of Peru,) for a long time had neither kings or commonwealths, but lived in troops, as they do this day in Florida, the Cheriquanas, those of Brazil, and many other nations, which have no certain kings, but as occasion is offered; in peace or war, they choose their captains as they please." Well, then, it was among the rude tribes of America, that Locke hoped to find his state of nature,

CHAP. III. and his *people* proceeding to a grave deliberation whether ——— they should submit to government or not, and next what particular form they should choose. The observations and accounts of travellers in his time were very scanty and inaccurate, and he, no doubt, lamented they had not furnished him with the requisite materials for building his reasonings by analogy, or by proof, perhaps still more direct. This deficiency has been in a great measure supplied in our days. Monsieur Volney is well known as a traveller. He has been long celebrated for his sagacious and philosophic delineations of the manners of the nations he visited. He is a complete philosopher, and must have been at some period of his life enamoured of Locke's theories. He took an active part in that disastrous revolution in his country, which avowedly proceeded on those theories, and was mainly instrumental in their consummation in general misery and bloodshed. Whether his abilities, or his character of a modern French philosopher be regarded, his testimony cannot be refused by those who may dislike my conclusions.

Not many years ago, he was with many other zealous partisans of the rights of the people, obliged by this same people to escape with no small precipitation from his native country, and seek refuge in the United States of America. He occupied himself with peregrinations over different parts of the vast continent, and in one of his excursions was fortunate enough to meet with the very men Locke was so anxiously looking for, and where he was confident to find all his theories exemplified,—only they were not quite ready for his choice of a government;—they were not yet convinced of the utility of any;—they had not yet opened their eyes to that irradiation of reason, which was to assemble them in a large plain, and conduct them without any previous instruction through all the forms of a complex deliberation and election. “From their cradle,” says Volney, describing these men, “mothers apply themselves to impress sentiments of independence on their infant minds. They never strike, or so much as

reprimand them, for fear of weakening their proud and martial inclinations. They even avoid thwarting or contradicting them, that they may be accustomed to think and act with the greater liberty." These men then were independent enough. They were as little entangled in the folds of society and government as need be. They were in that hopeful childhood of the human race which Locke so much regretted could no longer be disclosed with all its mysterious seeds of civilization and government. They had, it should seem, *no government at all*, according to the relation of Don Josephus Acosta, which gave Locke so much pleasure. They were then in a course of training for the grand meeting in the spacious plain, and would be soon ripe for choosing a government. Let Volney answer the question. He saw them, and describes them from his own personal inspection. His description affords an amusing contrast with the pictures which Rousseau has drawn in support of some of his wild theories:—"From the first dawn of morning, men and women wandered up and down the streets, solely employed in procuring for themselves brandy; selling for this purpose first of all the produce of their hunting, next the ornaments they wore about their persons. They then proceeded to strip themselves stark naked, disposing of the whole of their clothes; finally, they turned beggars for the liquor which they continued drinking till the entire loss of all their faculties. Sometimes they exhibited burlesque scenes, more frequently such as were terrible. They were either mad with drunkenness, or losing all sense and reason, rolled in the mire in a state of complete stupefaction. I never went out in the morning without stumbling over dozens of them in all the streets and roads about the village, literally wallowing with the hogs. But this condition of stupid intoxication was the most tolerable. Often their boiling brains would break out into rage and quarrelling, and then murders never failed to be the consequences. On the 9th of August, at four o'clock in the morning, not

CHAP. III. more than twenty paces from me, an Indian stabbed his
 ——— wife with four thrusts of his knife*,” &c. &c.

It is evident that if government had waited to be introduced among these drunken wretches for Locke's process of deliberation and election, till of their own accord they had gone to a great meeting of the whole tribe, &c. it would have waited long enough. The world would be filled with wandering, ungoverned men. The decree of God and Providence, which seems to have destined all portions of the human race to the restraints and control of government, would not have been fulfilled. We must look, then, to some other origin of government from what Locke has traced; and as among these men at least, government could not possibly have arisen as he has supposed, and government was of necessity to take place, the most fastidious logician among them must admit the conclusion, the mere circumstance of origin cannot decide as to the legitimacy of a government. A view of the *real* original of government amongst men will impress the further inference, that all governments, whether good or bad, salutary or beneficent, producing the misery or prosperity of a people, were created and established much in the same manner, and that, therefore, the mode of their original creation can furnish no test or criterion how far they are obligatory, and some other test must be discovered. The whole of this deduction is not necessary to the refutation of Locke; shewing, that in any one instance government of *necessity*, by the insurmountable course of things, arose differently from what he has described, is an answer to him, and proves the danger of the criterion he would establish. But this deduction is curious, and will open in a greater degree as it advances the important truths essential to the discussion of Locke's theory.

In the first place, the supposed state of nature, of which so many mis-called philosophers after Locke have become

* Tableau des États Unis de l'Amérique.

so prodigiously enamoured, is a mere chimera. Such a CHAP.III.
state would be conceivable if men had started up at once
from the ground in the full maturity of bodily strength,
and mental abilities. If nature had not diversified and
distributed them as she dismissed them from her plastic
hand by degress of strength, activity, and cunning; if she
had not loaded them with wants, miseries, and infirmities;
if she had not clouded their minds with passion, obscured
their reason by ignorance, planted in their natures a thou-
sand appetites craving to be satisfied, a thousand wayward
humours impatient to be soothed, a thousand visionary
fears and terrors requiring to be calmed and diverted: and
if all this mechanism of human nature had not prepared
the way for innumerable modes and degrees of influence
and authority on one side, and subserviency and obedience
on the other; if men had not burned for armed contention;
and if the necessary result was not in many cases the entire
subjugation of one of the contending parties—then might
they be described as having been once all free, perfectly
equal, subject only to the guidance of reason, and pro-
ceeding in all their acts by her illuminations. But it need
not, I suppose, be proved that the condition of the human
race is precisely the reverse; and it was on a view of this
condition that the great philosopher, Aristotle, pronounced
man ζῷον πολιτικόν. Taking these profound words for
my text, I proceed to shew him in all circumstances an
animal by nature subject to government. He comes into
the world feeble and helpless, and the filial and parental
relation meets him at his birth. It was impossible for
Locke, or any other reader of the early accounts of nations,
not to discern government established in many instances
upon this relation. The adversary he condescended to
crush, Sir Robert Filmer, had erected his whole absurd,
forgotten treatise, Patriarcha, on this foundation. Being
of a very confused understanding, he had thrown out
his opinions in a very confused, inconsistent manner,
which Locke has exposed more at length than such pre-
posterous notions deserved. Filmer, in some parts of his
work, would recognize Adam as the first and only rightful

CHAP.III. political governor,—rightful government descending from
 — him to his heirs. Locke asked him for the logical link which connected political authority with the paternal title; and, besides, who was Adam's heir?—These questions carried with them the refutation of Filmer. In other parts Filmer could see no lawful government but where he could trace the name of father in its physical sense. This brought him to the conclusion, that every family upon earth was an independent government by itself, which could not be brought under a common rule or sovereignty, without an encroachment on the ordinances of God.—These two inconsistent theories, plentifully interlarded with Scripture texts, composed Filmer's work. Locke, after having abundantly refuted them, exposes his opinion on paternal authority, in a strain little more reasonable.—Wherever paternal authority is discernible, joined with political power; wherever "the father of a family became the prince of it," as he allows he often did, in the early societies of mankind, he is persuaded he was elected by an assembly of the children; so determined is he not to quit hold of his favourite doctrine of election. On this subject we are again indebted to information communicated by Monsieur Volney. At an early and more auspicious period of his life, he visited the mild pastoral tribes scattered over some of the plains of Asia. He has pictured how government arises among them, from the paternal, or, as Locke will have it, the parental relation; and his picture finely illustrates the earliest of all records, the Scriptures. We are carried back to the growing Patriarchal government of the Pentateuch:—"There exists among them (the Bedowens, or wandering Arabs) a tolerably advanced state of society.—Sometimes a patriarchal government, where the father of a family governs his household, his children, and servants; sometimes an aristocracy, that is, the government of several fathers of a family united*. This original of government bears no affinity to the preposterous dogmatism of Filmer,

* État Politique de la Syrie.

though the title of his work might favour the supposition CHAP.III.
 he had some insight into it; as little to the doctrine of
 Locke.—It is not by any logical conclusion or deduction
 that the authority of the magistrate arises out of that of
 the father. No; but accustomed to the training parental
 hand from his earliest years, the individual does not run
 out into the wildness of unrestrained liberty when arrived
 at maturity. “The child does not,” in the words of Locke,
 “come to be as free from subjection to the will and com-
 mand of his father, as the father himself is free from sub-
 jection to the will of any body else.” On the contrary,
 he is naturally led to recognize the magistrate in the
 parent, and readily submits to him as such. The restraint
 and coercion he has worn from his birth became part of
 his nature. Filial obedience is the school of civil submis-
 sion. At first the precincts of the paternal house form
 the boundaries of the government. An intercourse arises
 among neighbouring families; they unite more closely.
 The most venerable of the aged fathers is *not chosen*
 arbiter of differences and punisher of wrongs. He has by
 the imperceptible operation of things, by a transition
 resulting from the mechanism of the human mind, become
 so. Thus does government steal among men in the most
 favourable circumstances of their condition, living under
 benignant suns, consuming the milk of their flocks or
 an innocent vegetable food, of gentle manners and mild
 simplicity. By this merciful economy has Providence
 made man in such circumstances *ζωον πολιτικον*. It is
 then, in the strictest sense, that government is part of his
 nature. At no moment of his existence is he without its
 wholesome restraints and beneficent protection. But the
 creature here described is very different from the savage
 observed by Volney in a subsequent period of his life. A
 cold bracing sky hardens his body, and impels him to
 constant activity and exertion. A rank luxuriant soil
 shoots up into endless forests inhabited by beasts of the
 chase. He is a hunter by condition; he is a ferocious,
 carnivorous animal, appeasing his voracious appetite with

CHAP. III. the flesh and blood of the beast he has slain. The first
 — act of his cruel and untamed manhood is to spurn the hand that reared him. The aged parent has no authority over his family. Unfit for active life, he often perishes by the hands of his offspring, which a French writer, who has favoured the world with his Travels, thinks not very unreasonable or unphilosophic*. How shall the yoke of government be imposed upon these men? A very concise answer is suggested by every page of history. By force, by arms, by conquest. A love of war and contention seems to be part of man's nature. It is discernible in the bosom of the most refined civilization.—The lectures of philosophy, the precepts of religion, have never been able to extinguish it, or indeed much diminish its effects. The coldest and most practised stoic is often seduced by the glare of military glory. But war is the darling occupation of the savage, of rude untutored man. Two neighbouring tribes will be in a state of perpetual hostilities, undergoing all

* The passage referred to deserves to be quoted at length, as displaying in the most glaring colours, the consummate and daring profligacy of the new school of French philosophy. Never was such an insult offered to the natural feelings of the human heart, as well as the precepts of natural morality, no less than religion, under the pretence of free and philosophical reflection. The author was a noble duke under the ancient monarchy, and one of the first among the depraved nobility of that time, who proved a renegado to the fortunes of his birth, and revolted against his own happiness, opening the way to that career of madness and crimes which passed from the degradation of all that was noble and eminent, to the universal slavery of the nation.—It is remarkable, that after witnessing all the effects of his conduct, when he was reduced to the lowest circumstances of humiliation and poverty, he still clung to the illusions of his past life, took every opportunity of celebrating the American republicans as alone the possessors of true liberty, and abusing the English, as by no means free, in his (the Frenchman's) opinion.—The following is the notable passage in his Travels : “ Few Indians live to be very old. They who grow old and infirm are put to death by their children, who consider this act as a duty they are bound to perform, in order to save their parents from the miseries of old age. However, they do not always fulfil this duty.—*Let this barbarous custom be fairly considered, and it will be found in some manner consistent with reason; for of what use and value is life, when nothing can be expected but sorrow and sufferings?*”—Travels through the United States, &c. by the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt.—*Translation*, v. i. p. 317.

the vicissitudes of victory and slavery. The conquered tribe is immediately made to feel the most severe and grinding despotism ; and as no degree of civilization softens the horrors of their warfare, the consequences are always tremendous. Whole lots of individuals expire in the most exquisite tortures at the hands of the conquerors. Nor is war less industrious in subjecting these last to the yoke. No qualities so engage the affections of the savage and produce his attachment as superior courage and prowess. At the commencement of hostilities this man of superior courage appeared. Thousands assembled round him, and became his devoted partisans and followers. They first subdued each other to their chief ; they next subjected both the victorious and conquered tribe to his dominion. The collected force proceeded to the conquest of other tribes neighbouring and remote.—In the progress of violence, country is added to country, a mighty empire established, and a mighty despot reigns over mankind. This I may say is the universal original of governments. It embraces all countries, all differences of climate and soil, all the diversified modes of human life and condition. It swallows up as well the little pastoral tribes of Asia, among whom a mild form of government had got footing, as the most ferocious hordes of American Indians, which, when contemplated in the light of scattered individuals, appeared without any government at all. It is only in this confined view that their supposed freedom from government presents itself when wandering out of the precincts of their hordes. Their hordes are ever subject either to their neighbours or to their military chiefs, and generally in a condition of abject slavery. War and conquest are coeval with the race of man ; and all their effects display themselves with harsher features and more rigorous operations, as he is rude and untutored. At no assignable period is he exempt from them ; and though in a less determinate manner, and with apparent intervals of riot and wild licentiousness, he too is ζων πολιτικον no less than the native of a milder climate and more benignant soil.

CHAP. III. Locke could not be so blind as not to discern this original of government, pervading the whole extent of time and the whole mass of the human race.—He has devoted a whole chapter to conquest. He admits the *rights* of a conqueror only under such limitations and in such circumstances, as in reality supersede them altogether. All the governments which can produce no other original but conquest, that is demonstrably most of the governments of the earth, are in a few sentences declared to exist only by wrong, and to be nowise entitled to the obedience of their subjects. This chapter “of Conquest” confirms the sentence he had in other parts of his work pronounced. The limitations he has imposed on the right of conquest are truly ludicrous. *Silent leges inter armæ* was the saying of an illustrious gown-man of antiquity; but our modern gown-men would bind up the victorious sword with his metaphysical ligaments. Conquest, in the estimation of good sense, is a *fact*—and there the discussion terminates. It is a mode by which the governments of the earth were, in *point of fact*, established.—To frame a regular code of conquest, which would distinguish *right* from *fact*, and thereby open the door to fresh strifes and new conquests, is at once preposterous, and displays a theory in the highest degree pernicious. This, however, is what *Locke* has done. He first inquires who was the aggressor in the quarrel. If he finds it was the party who, in the event was the conqueror, (and this he would most commonly find,) a whole quarter of the globe may have submitted to his arms; but he acquires no *right*, and can deliver none to his posterity. In this sentence are whole nations and kingdoms called upon to the dangerous function of newly creating a government for themselves. This condemnation of existing governments is extended as he proceeds. A distinction is made between the government that may have provoked the conquest, and the people subject to that government. If they were not accessory to the injustice of their rulers; if they did not “actually abet the unjust war” which the rulers waged, they are not to

suffer whatever may be the events of it. The conqueror CHAP.III.
acquires no *right* over them. But suppose him to establish ———
the two preliminary facts, that he was originally the
aggrieved party in the quarrel;—secondly, that the war
was waged against him, not only by the government
ostensibly opposed to him, but by the whole people inha-
biting the country of the government; then he is admitted
to a statement of his claims, which, however, undergo a
very severe audit. He has an unlimited right over the
lives of the conquered;—a concession which Locke not
very humanely, or it should seem logically, makes; but
over their possessions his rights are very limited, and
never can extend to the inheritance of the children, who
are not to suffer by the misdeeds of their fathers. The
wives, too, of the offenders are to be secured in their
jointure or dower. This is to be deducted in the first
instance. Then what remains may be regarded as a stock
out of which the conqueror may be reimbursed the
damages he can prove to have sustained in the war.—It
may happen that the amount of these damages shall be so
large, that if he got full compensation, little would be left
for the maintenance of the children. What is to be
awarded in this case? “I answer,” says Locke, with the
most provoking gravity; “the fundamental law of nature
being, that all, as much as may be, should be preserved, it
follows, that if there be not enough to satisfy both, *viz.*
for the conqueror’s losses and the children’s maintenance,
he that hath, and to spare, must remit something of his
full satisfaction, and give way to the pressing and prefer-
able title of those who are in danger to perish without it.”
This is not enough. Not only the inheritance of the chil-
dren and their present maintenance are shielded from the
claims of the conqueror, but by the most extraordinary
reasoning, or rather no reasoning at all, the lands of the
actual offenders conquered in war are exempted. The
conqueror has no claim to the property of the soil. The
produce he may take, a few harvests perhaps. Then fol-
lows another stoppage, utterly irreconcilable to common

CHAP. III. sense, or what was Locke's principal strength, the deductions of logic. Whatever losses the conqueror may have sustained in *money*, he is not to be reimbursed. "Nature hath put no value on these supposed riches; they are of no more account by her standard than the wampompeke of the Americans to an European, or the silver money of Europe would have been formerly to an American."—I say logic revolts against this clause, unless the supposition be admitted that wars and conquests never take place among civilized nations.—But, enough of this solemn trifling.—The conclusion is, that no government can of *right* be established by conquest, and that all governments so *in fact* established, have no right or title to produce. If it were not evident and demonstrable that this was the origin of most of the governments of the world, Locke himself has stated the truth:—"Yet such have been the disorders ambition has filled the world with, that in the noise of war which *makes so great a part of the history of mankind*, their consent (*i.e.* of the people) is little taken notice of." Two things seem utterly irreconcilable in this matter, Locke's logical acuteness, and the purity of his views and intentions; and yet they both certainly existed.

Other originals of government may be traced, which would be sufficient to yoke it on those savage and vicious natures among whom deliberation and consent are out of the question, as well as the gentle and progressive ascendancy of paternal authority excluded. The savages described by Volney are consumed with a burning thirst of spirituous liquors. There is nothing they will not sacrifice to purchase their darling beverage.—They will sell themselves and posterity into bondage. In certain seasons and vicissitudes of weather they are excluded from the occupation of hunting.—They then have recourse to games of desperate chance to relieve the lassitude and wearisomness of their long leisure. These often reduce the savage to the condition of slave; so Tacitus tells us of the antient Germans:—"They will stake every thing they have valuable in the world, the last of their ornaments and wearing apparel.

At last they will play for their personal liberty, and the loser, though the younger and more robust of the two, will resign himself a slave, even allow himself to be bound and sold into foreign captivity*.” Superstition, which exercises such dominion over the mind of the savage, reduces him to the extreme of slavery. We sometimes recognize it as the creator of government, where conquest and the effects of conquest do not immediately present themselves. A country man of ours, Hearne, pursued a most fatiguing journey across the great north western continent of America. He met in his progress groupes of Indians, that had the appearance of so many scattered individuals and families. They were in the rudest state in which men were ever contemplated, scarcely united into tribes. Yet there was a government among them, the offspring of those absurd superstitious fears which agitate the mind of the savage, and this was a government of the severest kind, a terrible tyranny and despotism. The tyrants were certain jugglers or conjurors, and they were armed with more considerable powers over these poor scattered Indians than the greatest sovereign possesses at the head of his armies, guards, and executioners. “When any of them take a dislike to, and threaten a secret revenge on any person, it often proves fatal to that person; as, from a firm belief, that the conjuror has power over his life, he permits the very thoughts of it to prey on his spirits, till, by degrees, it brings on a disorder which puts an end to his existence; and sometimes a threat of this kind causes the death of a whole family, and that without any blood being shed, or the least apparent molestation being offered to any of the parties.” Incredible as this narrative may appear to be, Hearne confirms it in a note by an anecdote personal to himself, and for the truth of which he appeals to living witnesses†.

It is curious to follow superstition in its progress and

* Taciti Germania, c. 24.

† A Journey, &c. by Sam. Hearne, p. 224.

CHAP.III. expansion from the loose, desultory, though terrible empire exercised by these conjurors, to a despotism regular and consolidated. The conjurors of Hearné were, at a considerable distance of time, followed by the priests or druids of Julius Cæsar. This great man has drawn a masterly picture of the very elaborate and rigorous system of slavery into which the people of Gaul were classed, and distributed chiefly by their influence and authority:—"In Gaul there are only two classes of men who enjoy any consideration; for the multitude is regarded below the condition of domestic slaves, incapable of daring to do any thing for itself, and wholly excluded from all manner of council or deliberation. Many, unable to pay their debts, or driven to despair by the weight of the public impositions, and the oppression of the higher orders, choose some one among the nobility to whom they surrender themselves in bondage, with all the rights exercised by lords over their slaves. The two classes above referred to, are the druids or priests, and those who are denominated knights. The former perform every religious function, decide all controversies public and private, punish all offenders. If any one, from the highest to the lowest in the community, presumes to resist their decrees, they pass sentence of excommunication upon him, which not only cuts him off from the religious rites and ceremonies of the nation, but fixing the brand of wickedness and impiety upon him, drives all men from his society, so that no one will so much as hold conversation with him, but all fly from him as from a pestilence. The road to public honour is for ever barred against him, nor is he, when aggrieved, permitted to seek any mode of legal redress*."

Before the arrival of the Spaniards in America, the several societies of the natives appear to have been in the rudest state, as if no long period of time had elapsed from their first coalition, yet two are noticed wherein the people had already sunk into the most abject and degraded slavery,

* Cæsar de Bello Gallico.

and a superiority created over them the most lofty, insolent, CHAP. III.
and contemptuous, that can be imagined. This, it would —
appear, was entirely the work of superstition. No trace
of conquest was to be found among them.—Their con-
dition was worse than that of the people of Gaul, and a
farther difference is to be remarked, that the sentiments of
dread and veneration, which are common to all super-
stitions, had converged to one person, and the individual
raised to an uncontrolled and undivided despotism. Such
generally is the final result. I quote the words of our
celebrated historian of America:—"Among the nation of
the Natchez, situated on the banks of Mississippi, a dif-
ference of rank took place; some families were reputed
noble, and enjoyed hereditary dignity.—*The body of the
people* was considered as vile, and formed only for sub-
jection. This distinction was marked by appellations
which intimated the high elevation of the one state, and
the ignominious depression of the other. The former were
called respectable, the latter the stinkards. The great chief
in whom the supreme authority was vested, is reputed to
be a person of superior nature, the brother of the sun, the
sole object of their worship. They approach him with
religious veneration, and honour him as the representative
of their deity. His will is a law, to which all submit with
implicit obedience. The lives of his subjects are so abso-
lutely at his disposal, that if any one has incurred his dis-
pleasure, he comes with profound humility and offers him
his head. Nor does their dominion end with their lives;
their principal officers, their favourite wives, together with
many domestics of inferior rank, are sacrificed at their
tombs, that they may be attended in the next world by the
same persons who served them in this; and such is the
reverence in which they are held, that those victims
welcome death with exultation, deeming it a recompence
of their fidelity, and a mark of distinction to be selected to
accompany their deceased master." "In Bogota, which is
now a province of the Spanish kingdom of Granada, go-
vernment had assumed a regular form. Their chief reigned

CHAP. III. with absolute authority. He was attended by officers of various conditions; he never appeared in public without a numerous retinue. He was carried in a sort of palanquin with much pomp, and harbingers went before him to sweep the road and strew it with flowers. This uncommon pomp was supported by presents or taxes received from his subjects, to whom their Prince was such an object of veneration, that none presumed to look him directly in the face, or ever approached him but with an averted countenance. The respect which the people of Bogota paid to their monarchs was inspired by religion, and the heir-apparent of the kingdom was educated in the innermost recess of their principal temple, under such austere discipline, and with such peculiar rites, as tended to fill his subjects with high sentiments concerning the sanctity of his character, and the dignity of his station*.”

By all the circumstances, and from all the causes that have been enumerated, man, is by his nature the subject of government. It is not a matter of choice or election. Government he must be under, one way or another, and his will is not consulted. He is what Aristotle called him, ζῶον πολιτικόν. In certain favourable circumstances, government, growing out of the paternal relation, winds round him at his birth.—It is a part of his family economy. Where a harsh nature would repel it, it is yoked on by the fears which haunt, and the passions which agitate and darken the mind of the individual. Volney saw the principles of the severe government to which the savage is subject amidst the frantic licentiousness which he has described:—“In following my analysis, I do not find myself conducted to any very favourable notions of the freedom of a savage; so far from recognizing liberty in his mode of existence, I see in him nothing but a wretched slave to the wants and caprices of a barren and churlish nature. His food is not within his reach; he cannot repose himself when he chooses; he is compelled to a fretful and

* Robertson's America.

tiresome activity; he must often run till he sinks with lassitude; he must endure thirst, hunger, cold, heat, all the inclemencies of the sky, changing with the vicissitudes of the seasons, and the variations of the elements; and, inasmuch, as from the ignorance in which he was born, and from which he was not delivered by education, his mind swarms with false and unreasonable ideas, with prejudices and superstitions of all sorts; he is under the yoke of a thousand errors and passions from which civilized man is free by his progress in knowledge*." As these wants, these infirmities, this ignorance are part of his nature, so is the government which necessarily results from them. It is coeval with these wants and infirmities, that is, his very existence. The whole theory of Locke, as applicable to savage life, has, I hope, been shewn to be erroneous; and his *state of nature*, which is the foundation of it, utterly imaginary and chimerical. It follows, that if government, in its original formation and beginning among mankind, was not, and could not have been created as he has supposed, all the governments of the earth were for a considerable period of time without right or title; but as by his doctrine, every generation of men are as much masters of their actions as their predecessors, it is possible, that *his people* may, at some era or other in the history of governments, have intervened, proceeded to deliberation on the government they found established among them, and chosen another according to their pleasure and discretion. Supposing he and his disciples had proved, that in some instance this had really been the case, that *his people* had come into action, and government had originated as he has described it, the conclusion would no less be false in logic than frightful in morality, that no government which could not be traced to such an origin was rightful and legitimate. But some preliminary observations will convince us, that *his* (Locke's) *people* never could have had existence. *His people* is the collection of all the individuals in a country

* Tableau d'Amérique.

CHAP. III. meeting together without distinction, and voting without
— being subject to any manner of influence on a footing of perfect equality. This is entirely repugnant to the condition of human nature. Goldsmith is one of the sweetest and most beautiful writers in our language, but never has been esteemed a very profound thinker; yet has he an observation which is sufficient to shew the absurdity of this whole representation:—"As sure," says he, "as your groom rides your horses, because he is a cunninger animal than they, so surely will the animal that is cunninger or stronger than he, sit upon his shoulders in his turn."

There is an influence observable among mankind, resulting from a combination of qualities for which the English have no determinate word. The French, who were more observant of the various movements, and, as it were, play of society, express it by the word *caractère*. The qualities, the general effect of which this word would express, are so complex and fugitive as to elude description, and be scarcely the subject of precise observation; but they fully shew themselves in the superiority which they confer. Let any number of men assemble in a room together—there may be no circumstance to mark inequality among them, yet this superiority shall be immediately perceived. It shall enable one man to command the submission of his fellows, and exercise a real authority over them. So that no equality can be said to have at any one moment existed. This is an authority flowing from the mechanism of nature itself. Lord Bacon seems to have had it in his eye in his admirable Essay on Boldness:—"What first in civil business? boldness. What second and third? boldness; and yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts; but nevertheless, it doth fascinate and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part; yea, with wise men at weak times.—As there are mountebanks for the natural body, so there are mountebanks for the politic body." *Caractère*, or Lord Bacon's boldness, does not imply the possession of superior

understanding, superior accomplishments, or even superior CHAP.III. courage; yet will it subdue all these. The man of ——— *caractère* will, by the necessity of things, exercise power over those who have it not. If superior cunning, courage, and other qualities, especially *caractère*, draw after them small societies of men, and disclose a real inequality among the most contrary appearances, this influence is fourfold in large assemblies. It is in these that the political mountebanks of Lord Bacon are sure to practise their tricks with success. The writers who lived under the democracies, Cardinal Retz in his Memoirs, and others who were sufficiently acquainted with them, have described them; and their pictures are very different from that which the speculative Locke has delineated in his closet. Every thing is decided by clamour and turbulence; every passion is at work to second the stratagems and deceptions of the mountebanks. The mountebanks become in a little time rulers. Never did an immense crowd meet, than they were disposed to set up some present greatness and fall down and adore it. It must likewise be remembered, when we come to the examples that have been produced from modern history, that mankind have been divided into such large societies, covering such an extent of surface, that it is impossible for one-tenth or one-hundreth, or in most cases, one-thousandth part of the individuals composing a nation, to exhibit any thing like the appearance of deliberation and choice. They are, too, so diversified by modes of living, manners, and habits, that their sentiments can never be collected. The peaceable burgher, the industrious farmer, the man of science and speculation, of recluse and timid habits, will never venture into any of the assemblies that may be formed. The idle, the turbulent, the profligate, the populace of great cities will alone appear. The armed multitude will, for the most part, decide. Amidst the din of arms and the shouts of mobs, peaceable individuals of all classes will take care not to leave the shelter of their homes. They will only cling the closer to their retirement amidst the general effervescence of a great revolution.

CHAP.III. After these remarks let us proceed to consider the
—— examples from ancient and modern times. Locke has been very limited in his instances. There are only two he conceived would serve his purpose; two only has he produced. Here, however, he could not complain of want of records and information, as in referring to the origin of government emerging from a state of nature—the whole volume of history was before him. The first instance is the very Revolution of which I am writing the history.

It has, I hope, been made sufficiently manifest, that *his* people, or indeed *the people*, in any sense of the word, that would be favourable to the partisans of his principles, never in the remotest degree intervened at all, during the whole progress of the event. The other instance is taken from the little abridgment of Justin. I find the circumstances thus related:—A number of Spartans chose Palantus son of Aratus, for their leader; they set out in search of a country wherein to establish themselves. After having been long wandering and experiencing many disasters, they at length landed in Italy; and taking possession of the city of Tarentum, after driving out the inhabitants, they formed a settlement there.” “I hope,” says Locke, with no small pride and elation of heart, and in a tone of triumph, “those that went away from Sparta with Palantus will be allowed to have been freemen, independent one of another, and to have set up a government over themselves by their own consent.”—And the Tarentines, that were expelled, were they not the original population of the country? Does it appear they were admitted to the poll as to the choice of government? Did the Spartans proceed according to Locke’s code of conquest? In reference to the Tarentines, was not the government established, absolutely a government of conquest?—The case is so trifling, so entirely naked of details taken from the early and almost fabulous ages of history, that it would not be thought deserving of a very serious discussion, notwithstanding the pompous manner in which it is presented by Locke, were it not for a distinction which it suggests, and which it is important to make. It

cannot be denied that governments entitled democracies CHAP.III. have existed in the world. Whether such a government was in any case good, is a question entirely foreign from the present discussion. But let it be examined what in reality they were, and then whether any conclusion favourable to Locke arises from them. First they were, for the most part, confined to very small communities. They are more distinctly traceable among the petty states of ancient Greece, than among any other portion of mankind. But supposing them to be of larger extent, they never embraced all the individuals in the country without distinction, or any species of classification. What was termed the people to whom the sovereignty was assigned was described with the most studied precision. A number of qualifications and limitations were contrived, distinctions of birth, property, family, past services, in every instance, I believe, recognized. The part of the population, not admitted within these distinctions, was repelled by the menace of the heaviest punishment. It is evident that the *people* acting under an established system of government, by whatever name distinguished, was very different from *Locke's people* coming forward to elect a government according to their pleasure and caprice. But a farther concession may be safely hazarded. *This people* did sometimes choose, or may be supposed to have chosen, a government. Emigrations of whole bodies of men from the ancient democracies, particularly in the early periods of Grecian history, were frequent. Colonies issued from the replenished bosom of the mother country, as in the case of Palantus and his Spartans. Arrived at the place of their destination, the colonies might proceed to the choice of a government for themselves. It is probable they would adhere as nearly as possible to the government they had been accustomed to in the parent state. But is it conceivable, that in their popular assemblies they would at once throw off all the limitations by which they had hitherto been regulated? Would Palantus be no more than the meanest of his train? This is what

CHAP. III. Locke was bound to show, in order to make out *his people*,
 — even in the trifling instance on which he lays so much stress. Under the head of democracies it will be proper to discuss a text of Tacitus, which has sometimes been quoted by Locke's disciples. In speaking of the Germans, that great historian says, "*de minoribus rebus principes consultant; de majoribus omnes.*" His *omnes* has been interpreted as if conveying a notion of *Locke's people* just emerging from a state of nature. How far the admired treatise—" *de Moribus Germanorum*" is to be esteemed a representation of reality must continue in some degree doubtful. Many passages lead us to suspect the eloquent and indignant republican intended to admonish and excite his own countrymen, and that in prosecution of this design he transferred to a remote and unknown nation forms of polity and circumstances of manners, which he cherished in his retrospective and historical contemplations of more domestic scenes. The sentence, "*nemo enim illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et corrumpi sæculum vocatur,*" could have no other object but this plan of satirical and objurgatory contrast. He would be led to place among the Germans those popular assemblies which he no longer found at home, and which with his republican sentiments he would so much regret. On the other hand, it is certain that travellers among savage tribes have recognized many features which the masterly hand of Tacitus had before traced. Our jurists and lawyers too have found many of the feudal institutions in their first rude lineaments in his picture.

Supposing then his work to be an historical representation, and not the effusion of an ingenious imagination, what does the test prove? Only that democratic forms had got footing among some of the tribes of the Germans, that they were democracies to the largest extent. But that the popular assemblies referred to bore no affinity to, or connection with, a state of nature, is proved by the accounts of the same Germans by Julius Cæsar, near a century before. The Germans were then in an earlier period

of society, and must have disclosed more of the state of nature. Yet Cæsar describes less of democracy in their institutions. This confirms a conclusion which might have been deduced from the history of the Grecian republics. Democracy, wherever it has obtained, does not denote the infancy of mankind; it has in general been the growth of civilization and refinement. Other governments, often severe tyrannies, prepared the way for it. There was nothing like simplicity in its frame and contrivance. In Greece we often find it erected by the authority of some eminent individual in his country, on other and less complex forms of sovereignty. The other examples of the intervention of the people are from modern history, and admit of full examination. Till the late Revolution in a neighbouring country, there was none which the disciples of Locke quoted with more delight than the rebellion which brought the unfortunate Charles I. to the scaffold. It was said to have been in all its stages the work of the people. Even the murder of the sovereign was represented as perpetrated with their full approbation. Some days before the consummation of the tragedy, the rebellious Commons, as if to shelter themselves under this omnipotent authority, voted, "that the people are under God, the original of all just power, January 4, 1649*."—The exact proposition of Locke.

Ludlow, one of the most fanatical of the regicides, in narrating all the guilty excesses of the rebellion, and all the personal outrages against the unfortunate monarch, frequently introduces the people for sanction and justification; yet in a number of passages which have been quoted, he discovers, certainly not with intention and purpose, but as if dragged on by the irresistible truth, that the great body of the people, the people in the counties, loved and idolized the King, and regarded the acts of his oppressors with the deepest horror. Even the populace of London, it appears by his work, often testified

* Parl. History, v. xviii. p. 494.

CHAP. III. these sentiments. It can be proved in the most satisfactory manner, that the proceedings of the rebels were almost in every instance the objects of abhorrence to the people, of the individuals inhabiting the country. Some additional passages to this effect will appear in the sequel of this history. The whole was the work of a desperate party, that were able to use the soldiers as their instruments. The same was the case of the Revolution of France, both that which overturned the ancient monarchy and that which but recently passed under our eyes. Yet both are said to have been the acts of the people. The murder of the mild and virtuous Lewis, like that of our Charles, has, by some wretches among us, been triumphantly celebrated as the exertion of the sovereign justice of the people, to which this people universally acceded by their previous wishes and subsequent joy. What different sentiments it excited in the provinces will be shewn. It is true, we have missed a most interesting testimony on the subject. Louvet, one of the fanatics who brought the sovereign to the situation which terminated in his destruction, was obliged to fly from the daggers of the direct regicides, and wandered over a great part of France in misery and concealment. But though not one of the regicides himself, and though in the court of sovereign injustice, he voted against the deed; yet, fancying himself a republican, he would not disclose the opinions of the people of France. He was more artful and cautious than Ludlow. In the midst of all his sufferings this infamous scribbler of obscene novels was persuaded he was a second Brutus in distress; and when he gave his work (*quelques notices pour l'histoire et le récit de mes périls*) to the public, he was determined not to say any thing which might favour the return of the monarch and the monarchy. What the sentiments of the *people* in the provinces were at the period of his wanderings, when the atrocious deed of blood was fresh in their minds, may be inferred from the manner in which they broke out some years after. General Ramel is the person to whom we are indebted

for this candid information. He too was a self-called CHAP.III.
 republican, but not a fanatic or a sophist like Louvet. —
 He spoke with the frankness of a soldier. In one of those
 downfalls of rebellion, which the French in their gypsy
 jargon, to make use of the words of Mr. Burke, call "*la*
Révolution du 18 Fructidor," he was condemned to trans-
 portation to Cayenne. He was the companion of
 Pichegru. He has published a short work, entitled
 "*Rélation de la Déportation à Cayenne*," &c. written with
 a military simplicity of style, and bearing evident marks
 of candour and truth. These were the cries, says he, by
 which my companions and myself were saluted in many
 parts of our progress through the provinces to the sea-
 coast:—" *Les voilà ces scelerats qui ont tué le roi; voilà*
ses assassins, ils nous ont accablés d'impôts, ils mangent
notre pain, ils sont la cause de la guerre." There go the
 wretches who murdered the King; there go his assassins.
 They have ground us down with taxes;—they take the
 bread from our mouths to put it into their own; they
 are the cause of the war. Yet, if we believe our seditious
 writers, this very people but the other day came forward
 again, and elected for their sovereign, after due delibera-
 tion, the very man whom the year before they had expelled
 with every sort of insult and reviling. They preferred
 hunger, and taxes, and conscriptions, under the rod of a
 soldier of fortune, to the mild and easy government of
 their fathers. Napoleon Buonaparte was the choice of
Locke's people. It is true, he landed on the coast of
 Provence, with a handful of armed followers. He pro-
 ceeded round by Lyons to the capital, without encoun-
 tering any opposition from any detachments of the army
 sent to oppose his progress. What does this prove?
 That the soldiers and some of the principal generals were
 treacherous to their sovereign, and favoured his enter-
 prise. The populace of some of the towns on his passage,
 are said to have shouted at his heels. He afterwards
 procured the shouts of the Champ de Mai. But were the
 peaceable population of the country associated to these

CHAP. III. mobs? Were the humble individuals who raised their cries against General Ramel, and some years after addressed our soldiers, "*Donnez-nous la paix, pour l'amour de Dieu la paix,*" were they in the Champ de Mai? Were all the fathers of families, who were trembling for their sons, whom the fell conscription would tear from them, were they there, and did they give their votes in the presence of a hired mob? On the subject of the Champ de Mai, I will relate an anecdote I heard the last time I was in London, from a French gentleman, who was a fellow-prisoner with the celebrated Georges, and in habits of intimacy with him. It was announced to Georges one morning, while in prison, that Buonaparte had been proclaimed emperor amidst the loud applause of ten thousand people:—"Why," said Georges, "his agents have managed the matter very ill. The rascals deserve to lose their wages. He has forty thousand blackguards in his service at Paris,—Why were they not all assembled on the occasion?"

This contempt for the multitude, or Locke's people, was not confined to such royalists as Georges. Some of the demagogues, who on different occasions availed themselves most of their inconstant shouts, and were most forward in flattering them, and bestowing high appellations on them, have often expressed it. Tallien said to a friend of mine, who visited Paris during the peace of 1802:—" *Cette exécration canaille, que nous étions obligés d'appeller le peuple souverain.*" Fouquier-Tinville, Robespierre's attorney-general, going to execution, addressed the mob, who were applauding his death with the same transport which they had expressed at all the murders he had in past times committed, in their name:—" *Vile canaille, va chercher du pain.*" Louvet was, with all the infamy of his character, a fanatic and an enthusiast. No testimony in favour of the popular disposition towards the King, or the monarchy, can be extracted from his pages; yet with all his republican fanaticism he cannot restrain his contempt for the multitude whenever they happened to thwart or

oppose him. In this he resembled Ludlow, whose expressions have been quoted:—“ *Et quelle ville étoit plus capable que Toulon,*” exclaims he, in one place, “ *à cette manœuvre.—Une foule considérable d’artisans, sans lumière et sans volonté qui lui fut propre, y étoit toujours disposée à recevoir pour un morceau de pain les impressions diverses qu’on lui voudroit suggerer.*” “ *Car enfin,*” says he in another place, “ *cette masse d’individus, que toutes les apparences entraînent, et qui ne va jamais jusqu’au second raisonnement*.*”

These, with the passages from Ludlow, form a sequel to Volney’s representation of the drunken savages. Volney describes men in their rude untutored state. The demagogues, rude untutored men in the most advanced periods of human society, the crowds we see in our streets, the large majority of individuals in every country, whose decision is paramount and final on all questions of government, according to Locke and his disciples. None knew them better than the demagogues, and they have given us their opinion on their aptitude for deliberation and choice.

As I am anxious to answer every thing in the shape of argument, by which Locke has endeavoured to support his very pernicious doctrines, I will take notice of two supposed facts, which, he says, prove that “by the practice of governments” every man may choose the government under which he is to live, and individuals and whole bodies of them may at any time leave the country in which they were born, and transfer themselves to any other they think proper. If, “by the practice of governments” he may be understood to refer to the government and municipal laws of his own country, they are directly contrary, and the facts are the reverse of what he supposes. The child of an Englishman, born in foreign parts, cannot choose his country, or, at least, the laws of England give all the opposition they can to the freedom of choice. The law which makes him an English subject,

* Quelques Notices, &c. p. 93. 94.

CHAP.III. declares he cannot divest himself of that character, but is amenable to the laws of his country wherever he may choose to go, and punishable as a traitor for any treasonable acts against it*. Against the liberty of emigration it is equally strenuous. The King may interpose by a special writ to prevent an individual from going out of the kingdom†, and there are crowds of acts of parliament against the emigration of artificers, that is, of classes of men. But it may be said, the municipal laws of England in this particular have not been universally recognized by other nations. In some recent instances it has been maintained, that an individual, wherever born, may shake off his allegiance to the country of his birth, and become to all intents and purposes the member of another community, entitled to the full measure of protection the community of his election can extend. I am not prepared to enter into the merits of this controversy. I am willing to concede that it cannot be insisted upon in argument, that in every conceivable case a man is bound to the government or country of his birth; but is the converse of this proposition, *therefore*, to be admitted, that in *all* cases men may withdraw themselves from the government of their fathers, and abandon themselves to an unlimited liberty of choice? Is patriotism, and all the kindred virtues and sentiments to be at once annihilated? The consequences on the condition of the human race have been already touched upon, and, as I have observed, to shew a doctrine purporting to be true in morality, to be pernicious, is to refute it.—This is an instance in which what may be true by the hard rules of the logician, is false in the more complex estimation and expansive views of the moralist and statesman.

If governments then cannot be judged *by their original*, which may be the same in the very best and very worst, how shall we distinguish between them? Is submission to all of them equally a duty? Where shall we look for a test? The test to be established must be some indis-

* Blackstone, vol. i. p. 390. 394.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 139.

putable fact; for to say men are bound to a good govern- CHAP.III.
ment, and not to a bad one, is not fixing a principle of ———
decision, but opening a field to endless controversy and
contest. It is equivalent to the proposition, the most
worthy man ought to be sovereign. Experience has
taught mankind the wisdom of hereditary succession by
the order of primogeniture, where the sovereign is designed
by an indisputable fact, his birth, and thus controversy,
and its offspring, armed contention, prevented. On this
principle I have no hesitation to say *time* is what conse-
crates a government; *prescription*, which Domat, a learned
French lawyer of the seventeenth century, called a part of the
law of nature. Every ancient government is on the face of
it entitled to submission and obedience, and every good
and wise man will consider himself bound to the govern-
ment of his forefathers. *Time*, says Lord Bacon, is the
greatest innovator. It may be added, it is the greatest
ameliorator and improver. It softens what is harsh, and
most frequently supplies what was defective. It is the
fruitful parent of substitutes and equivalents. There is,
I believe, no instance, but perhaps the single one of Tur-
key, where a government has not been rendered, in a great
degree, good and salutary by the length of its continu-
ance. It is quite disgusting, and absolutely nauseous to
hear our wretched pamphleteers and politicians reviling
the ancient monarchy of France as a mere despotism,
because it had not a regular representative assembly to
concur in the enacting of laws, and the imposing of taxes.
I have heard Mr. Burke provoked to expressions of the
most indignant contempt, when he found this vulgar cry
echoed by a man who ought to have had very different
feelings and conceptions. It is, indeed, little better than
the notion stoutly maintained by an audacious libeller
some years ago, and lately, I find, revived, that the people
of England had no manner of liberty, because they had
not a pamphlet to quote, entitled a Constitution. Sub-
stitutes and equivalents, which superficial thinkers regard
as nothing, are in politics and what concerns human

CHAP.III. affairs, every thing. How many were they in France to
—— supply the absence of such an assembly as is required? What was the empire of public opinion? To how many bodies of men did it not give authority and action? How many abuses was it not every day correcting? What real and substantial limitation did it not interpose to the royal power? What a spirit of emulation, tending to amelioration, and good in every department of the state, did it not produce?—The pride of the nobility was sinking before it. It had awakened the slumbering genius of trade and manufacturing industry. Some of the large commercial towns had assumed the appearance of little republics in the bosom of the state, with scarcely any subjection to the monarchy but what was absolutely necessary for the preservation of internal peace and good order, and defence against foreign aggression*. But who would expatiate on this topic after the immortal piece of eloquence in Burke's Reflections, in which it is so fully opened and illustrated? The criterion, *of time*, shuts out no government, but a very green and recent usurpation, and even this it allows by a wise and moderate use of its authority to advance every day to the title which it will sanction. The system I inculcate is friendly to progressive and well-judged reform and improvement; but it interdicts insurrections and violent attempts at change and revolution. These, it designs, as the greatest of human calamities, which admit of no real compensation or balance. The inhabitant of the Turkish empire, that should be guided by its precepts, however large and comprehensive his own views, would never aim at any thing precipitate, or too extensive. The notion of preaching rebellion against the Ottoman Porte, he would hold in unqualified abhorrence. He would be content with such reforms as he could carry into effect without any disturbance of the public peace, and in the circle wide or contracted, which his station in life marked out for him;

* L. Gardenstone's Travelling Memorandums, vol. i. p. 109.

convinced that a succession of such moderate reformers CHAP III.
would ultimately accomplish a great change, and that
none but attempts so calculated and directed would operate a real cure in the evils of his political condition.

If no set of men, however extended in number, under the denomination of the *people*, or any other, have any arbitrary discretion over governments which are to be contemplated with the soberest moral caution, what, it may be asked, are the rights of men? Is the whole code of these rights to be discarded? The rights of men, as expounded by Mr. Burke, will remain in their full force and vigour, and all other exposition must be deemed futile and fallacious, all other rights absolutely chimerical. "If civil society be made for the advantage of man, all the advantages for which it is made become his *right*. It is an institution of beneficence, and law itself is only beneficence acting by a rule. They have a right to justice—to instruction in life, and consolation in death*."

The Revolution of 1689 was not the work of the people. Did it produce an entire change of the dynasty on the throne? A gentleman who lately filled a high judicial situation in one of these united kingdoms, took upon himself roundly to assert that it did, in a convivial meeting of reformers which he happened to honour with his presence. He declared that the entire sweeping off of the reigning dynasty was one of its prominent features, which its authors were proud to shew off and proclaim to the world. I suppose, in the history of human opinions, there is not an assertion so directly, and as it were elaborately contrary to the truth. That a man, calling himself a lawyer, should have hazarded it in the face of an act of parliament in which both Houses pour out their thanksgiving to Heaven for having made the Prince and Princess, whom they were elevating to the throne, members of the reigning dynasty, must appear truly wonderful.

If any circumstance is more conspicuous than another in

* Burke's Reflections, &c.

CHAP. III. the proceedings of the Revolution, it is the incredible study
 — and ingenuity bordering on petty casuistry and extreme over-refinement with which those who conducted it, laboured to bring the new settlement within the pale of the reigning dynasty. But the fumes of wine, and the noise of those popular meetings drive away all memory of law and common sense, and taste and true eloquence, as was well evinced in the speech of the gentleman, referred to.

1689.

We come now to the relation, and afterwards discussion of the degree and kind of Reformation introduced at the Revolution. On the 29th of January, the day after it had been resolved that King James had abdicated the government, Mr. Wharton moved, that the throne which had been declared vacant, should be immediately filled with the Prince and Princess of Orange. An amendment was proposed and carried, "that before the committee proceed to fill the throne, now vacant, they will proceed to secure our religion, laws, and liberties." A committee was appointed to bring in general heads of such things as were

Committee of Government appointed in the House of Commons.

absolutely necessary for this purpose. The views of those who took the lead in appointing the committee may be collected from the speech of Serjeant Maynard on the occasion. Grey's Debates give a very short and unsatisfactory sketch of this speech.—There is a note to Grey's report, (*not well heard*,) but by the assistance of Lord Somers, we are able to form a correct notion of the speech in question. The reader, by comparing the two accounts, will perceive the following is not an unfaithful representation of the sentiments it conveyed.

Speech of Serjeant Maynard.

Several members had spoken vaguely of reforms; a Mr. Christy had let fall the expression "a New Magna Charta." Serjeant Maynard:—"The question before us has two branches. We are called upon to fill the vacancy of the throne, but before that is done, to provide for our security. I am for the affirmative on both points.—I would declare the liberties of the people, but I would not delay in supplying the vacancy. Without the first, we

may have, indeed, an arbitrary government; but if we waste our time in protracted debates, we shall be in a still worse condition,—we shall have no government at all. CHAP.III.
1689.

These delays, and this confusion, seem to have charms for some gentlemen;—one proposes, we should go beyond the Conquest in search of grievances: I believe it would puzzle him as much as it would me, to ascertain precisely what was law or constitution in the Saxon times; and should we go back to explore such remote and obscure antiquity, we should be ill rewarded for our pains by any thing we could find. Another gravely suggests the expediency of framing an entire new Magna Charta. These gentlemen have taken their cue from the wise politicians who frequent our coffee-houses, and who are busy in talking of fine things for us to do, that we may, in reality, do nothing but leave every thing in confusion. Beware of overloading the horse: be careful of undertaking too much. There are striking grievances which demand immediate redress. Stick to those and substantial good will be done. Your spirit will not evaporate in a little flashy noise. Take measures against a standing army. Do not suffer the nation to be disarmed, but strengthen and extend the plan of a national militia. Look to the purity of your judges. Let them sit, not *durante bene placito*, but *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. Secure the freedom of the corporations which have been too much controlled and over-awed by prerogative. Do not lose your time in searching after theoretic grievances. What I have suggested is easily accomplished, and ought to be done quickly. The thing of most essential and immediate necessity is to have a King.—Let us not delay to set the government in motion, under whatever fair pretence, lest we give occasion to moles, who work under ground, to destroy the foundations you laid yesterday. This is my fear, dictated by the knowledge and experience of past times, and this I speak as a true Englishman, who loves his country better than his life. I repeat it, the immediate necessity that presses upon us is, that there should be a King. While you con-

CHAP. III. ^{1689.} tinue in your present state, you are without power, without

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justice, without mercy. Other things require time, and admit of it." Even the phraseology of the speech, as it has been exhibited, is, for the most, copied from Lord Somers's note. Grey has supplied some phrases and topics which appear characteristic. It exactly delineates the plan pursued by the authors of the Revolution. The caution, and circumspection, and forbearance from wide and excursive reforms, recommended by Serjeant Maynard, were generally approved of by the House. "I would enact no new constitution, but make declaration only, and pursue the old," said Sir William Williams. Sir Richard Temple, in answer to Mr. Christy's proposition of a new Magna Charta,—“I am against launching into such a sea.” Sir Edward Seymour,—“Good things suffer by overdoing. I am not for making new laws, but declaring old*.”

After the debate of the 29th, we have no longer the assistance of Lord Somers's notes, but are left to the obscurity and confusion of Grey; we therefore do not see our way so clearly. The committee appointed was faithful to the wishes of the House, and observed great caution in the reforms it proposed. Still the House thought it went too far. On the 2nd of February it

Report of
the Com-
mittee of
Govern-
ment.

received a report from its committee of the articles of government the committee had drawn up for its adoption. The twenty-second article proposed the abolition of informations in the King's Bench altogether. It was rejected by the House. Serjeant Maynard, and the most popular members were among the foremost to resist it, as of too sweeping and comprehensive an import. The Serjeant,—“I would distinguish what informations are a grievance, and what not; else I know not whither they may go.” Mr. Pollexfen, “The taking away informations in the King's Bench may be very mischievous.—If you take them away altogether, there may be a thousand cases wherein there can be no remedy.” Mr. Hampden,—“I hope you intend

* Hardwicke's State Papers.

not to take them all away, but intend this memorandum as CHAP.III.
a claim, and the abuses to be redressed."

The plan of the committee underwent various prunings, ^{1689.} February.
and it was not till the 8th of the month that the Commons had finally agreed on the rights it would be proper to declare, [and what circumstances were by parliamentary authority to be denominated grievances. The declaration was sent up to the Lords, and after a conference between the two Houses, returned on the 12th, when it assumed the form it now bears in the Statute Book,—the act of *the Bill of Rights*.

It was, perhaps, as much owing to the urgency of the time, as to the wisdom and virtue of the men, that no attempt was made at speculative and latitudinarian reformation. The conjuncture pressed upon parliament. It was absolutely necessary to supply the deficiency in the executive government without delay;—a foreign enemy assisted by domestic treason was to be resisted;—a large portion of the empire was to be rescued from an adverse authority. Dangers, both from within and without were to be guarded against. Compelled to act as it were under the spur of the crisis, the parliament acted wisely, and transmitted to us a most salutary lesson of moderation and caution. It is possible, that if the circumstances had been different, and time afforded for protracted discussion and deliberation, if the parliament had sat in perfect security and tranquillity, the wisdom of the few would not have resisted the propensity which carries men in a season of deliverance and prosperity, to visit with reform every circumstance, which, on a retrospective view, has the appearance of a grievance. Thus would the legislators of that day have defaced the venerable antiquity of the constitution, and by their example betrayed their posterity into rash and extended innovation.

The grievances enumerated in the Bill of Rights are ^{Bill of Rights.} twelve in number, all having immediate reference to what had been actually and recently endured. No speculative or contingent grievances were admitted into the catalogue.

CHAP. III. So strictly was this principle adhered to, of not going beyond the imperious suggestions of actual experience, that when parliament takes notice of the *dispensing power* which had been the great instrument of inspiring terror in the late reign, it does not by a sweeping clause declare it *wholly* illegal. Not, as I apprehend, for the reason assigned by Hume, that there was any doubt as to the law. Or if there had, the obvious consequence of such a prerogative to render all control on the crown ineffectual, might, at least, have led to a precise and comprehensive provision, to operate against it *in future*; but the framers of the Bill of Rights did not look to what *might* happen, but punctiliously confined themselves to what had *actually happened*. In this spirit they say only, "that the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, *as it hath been assumed and exercised of late*, is illegal.

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February.

But some gentlemen among us, to whom I adverted in the preliminary observations to this chapter, are extremely mortified the authors of the Revolution did not, amidst all the dangers which hung over their heads, and the urgent necessity for expedition which pressed upon them, proceed to change, or according to their notions, reform the constitution of the House of Commons; and because they took no steps to this effect, they are ready to condemn the whole of the Revolution. The first observation to be made is, that such a change, or reform as it is called, even if the circumstances of the conjuncture had permitted such a protracted proceeding, was directly contrary to the principle which invariably guided the authors of the Revolution. Actual or recently experienced grievances were alone what entered into their contemplation. Now, there had been no complaint of any deficiency in the representation of the people in the House of Commons. The Houses of Commons of the reign of Charles II. had all been faithful echoes of the popular sentiment at the period in which they sat; or if any exception be admitted, it is perhaps against the

patriotic Commons to whom we owe some of our best CHAP.III.
laws. The House of Commons of James II. however
abandoned to the lowest political servility, and prepared
to surrender all the rights and liberties of the nation into
the hands of the monarch, was, Mr. Fox acknowledges,
the house of the people,—a correct index of the opinions
prevailing among the great body of the people. But
though no deficiency in the representation was felt at the
period of the Revolution, many have persuaded themselves
it has been felt since, and these, though all different in
their views and plans upon the subject, have agreed to
range themselves as it were under one banner, and call
themselves *parliamentary reformers*. If we contemplate
parliamentary reformers as they have successively, or
together arisen among us, we shall think *parliamentary
reform* not unaptly described by a line of Pope, as it ori-
ginally stood in his Essay on Man:—

“ A mighty maze of walks, without a plan.”

Most of the reformers are agreed as to what they
would pull down, but no manner of agreement can be
traced among them as to what they would substitute in
its stead; but *that*, with some degree of dry humour they
tell us, is a matter of no consequence, and we need not
trouble our heads about it. A gentleman not remarkable
for pleasantry on other occasions, but the other night
declared, in order to soothe and compose all our solici-
tudes and alarms, that he did not know, but if we allowed
him to pull down one half of the building, he might in his
turn allow us to enjoy quietly the other half. He would
not positively answer for the views of more determined
architects or demolishers, but his own intentions did not
go farther *at the moment he was speaking*. It must be
owned, this gentleman and his associates, have a great
authority for this indifference, which astonishes common
minds. If my memory does not deceive me (I may be
contradicted, and I certainly am not positive as to what

CHAP. III. happened, if at all, so many years ago,) I once heard Mr. ——— Fox say in his place in the House of Commons, that among the prodigious variety of plans which he had heard proposed for parliamentary reform, not one appeared to him to possess the merit of common sense; yet, it is well known, Mr. Fox invariably supported parliamentary reform in every shape and form in which it was ever proposed in his time. Those who may not be disposed to admire his magnanimity and freedom from prejudice in this proceeding, will consider it as a vice of conduct flowing from his love of popularity, which not a little warped the public life of that great man. The *name of parliamentary reform* was too dear to the multitude whose suffrages he was so eager to captivate, to be sacrificed to any anxiety about the *thing*.

I shall consider in what the great body of the self-called reformers is agreed, and that cannot be fully understood without a previous historical deduction, which will clear the way for a full discussion of the question.

According to the opinions of the best informed historians and antiquaries which I have been able to collect, the present House of Commons, a House of Commons *at all professing* to represent the nation, takes its date from the reign of Henry III. and the year 1264, when writs were sent to all the sheriffs in England, commanding them to cause two of the most discreet knights of each county to come to parliament. Similar writs were directed to the citizens of several cities, and burgesses of several burghs, requiring each city to send two of its most discreet and honest citizens, and each burgh two of its most wise and upright burgesses, each of the Cinque Ports was to send two to its barons.

The want of certainty and precision in this first draught of a House of Commons must strike every reader. Every thing seems to be left wholly to the discretion of the crown and its officers. No instructions are given to the sheriffs *how* they are to return the members for the counties, no rule laid down, no list of the cities and burghs to

which the returns were to be confined, exhibited,—no CHAP.III.
directions communicated as to the mode of return to be ———
observed in each.

I shall have occasion to notice in the sequel how the sheriffs often used or abused their discretion. I am at present to narrate how the returns of the cities and burghs proceeded.

It is probable, or at least, I am not in possession of materials to deny it, that the crown at the beginning sent its writs to the larger and more considerable towns and burghs. Some of these, in process of time, fell into decay, and the crown did not think it expedient to withdraw from them the right of returning members which had been once assigned to them. This is the origin of some of the small boroughs returning members at this day.

But the discretion of the crown was used *directly* to introduce small boroughs for private purposes, which boroughs often fell into private hands, and became private property.

The gentleman to whom I have more than once adverted, and who cannot be mistaken, has, in the ferment and confusion of ideas which his character of leader of the reformers has produced in him, seriously persuaded himself that while he is endeavouring to break up the whole scheme of society in his country, and let loose an ungovernable multitude upon us, he is struggling for the just authority of the crown in the constitution. His indignation at the popular encroachments at the Revolution, has been already noticed. He calls loudly for the revival of prerogatives supposed to be extinguished; amongst others, that by which the crown transferred the right of electing members of parliament from one place to another, as it deemed expedient. He is at the same time vehement against the borough system, which he represents, in his own peculiar rhetoric, as the source of all our misfortunes, and the bane of all our prosperity. He may be surprised to find the greater part of this system sprung up under the very prerogative he is so zealous to have revived. I say,

CHAP. III. he may be *surprised* to find, because, for my part, I am — firmly persuaded of the purity and integrity of his views, and that when he errs, he errs from ignorance, not from design. As he has said some where, he is not so hurried by his zeal for reform as not to be open to conviction, I am not without, perhaps, a vain hope, of somewhat calming and moderating this zeal, by convincing him of the many gross errors in constitutional history and law, into which it has betrayed him.

This prerogative in the crown of taking away, or conferring the right of election, according to its unlimited discretion, was so obviously fitted entirely to fill the House of Commons with its creatures, that many learned and patriotic men in early times* were tempted to question its legal existence. They quoted a variety of statutes (27 Hen. VIII. c. 26; 34 Hen. VIII. c. 13; 35 Hen. VIII. c. 11,) bestowing the right of election in particular cases, from which they concluded, with much appearance of reason, that it could not proceed from the crown alone. On the other hand, the champions for arbitrary power, as we shall see when we come to a review of the life of Lord Shaftsbury, the first parliamentary reformer, maintained with equal zeal and earnestness, the prerogative in question. I cannot precisely decide on the merits of this controversy, but it is certain the prerogative was, in point of fact, not unfrequently exercised.

The use to which it was made subservient, is thus described in what is, I believe, esteemed a most accurate compilation, the Parliamentary History†. The following passage is supported by quotations from Carte's History of England, and Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall:—
“Great part of the lawyers in the inns of court, being infected with puritanism, in their zeal for the cause, laboured to advance the interest of their party in the House of Commons, and in their search of old records,

* Pryn's Register of Parliamentary Writs.

† Vol. xxi. p. 212—215.

finding several towns of the King's demesne had been CHAP.III.
summoned once or twice by Edward I. to send their
deputies to parliament, (though this wise Prince did not
live above twelve years after his institution of the third
estate, and varied the little places which sent members from
time to time, only to lighten a charge that, when their
representatives received wages, was too heavy for them
constantly to bear) yet on this pretence of their having
had one or two summons, they took it into their heads to
maintain that these demesne towns, many of them incon-
siderable villages, were boroughs by prescription, and had
a right contrary to the intention of the King, who first
summoned them, to send deputies to parliament in all
future ages.

“Thus the Earl of Leicester's town of Andover, and near
thirty others, in which the great men about court had an
influence, re-assumed the privilege; and increased the
House of Commons in Queen Elizabeth's time by about
sixty members. This seems to have been done, during
her reign, only by the sheriffs of counties sending pre-
cepts to such places, probably by the direction of power-
ful courtiers who had interest enough in the House of
Commons (when a debate arose in the thirteenth year of that
reign, on the introduction of eighteen members for towns
never known to send any before) to protect them, and
keep the practice from being censured; but in the suc-
ceeding reigns, the Commons themselves made use of the
same to increase their numbers. Thus the puritans got
the ascendant in that house.”

A passage which follows from Borlase gives an account
of the introduction of many of the decayed boroughs in
Cornwall, which are traced to the prerogative in the reigns
of Edward VI. Mary, and Elizabeth.

It appears from the foregoing passages, that the prac-
tice of introducing small boroughs under the auspices of
the prerogative claimed by the crown, commenced, so at
least as to engage much attention, about the reign of
Edward VI. and was carried on with increased activity in

CHAP. III. the two succeeding reigns. The House of Commons, which — had hitherto been a mere name and shadow, was rising into importance in the constitution, and the ministers and courtiers began to think it worth their while to establish an interest in it. The practice was far from stopping in the reign of James I. though we shall have to notice this monarch as the first person who talked of parliamentary reform.

This engine of power in the Commons fell in the reign of Charles I. and on the eve of our civil wars, into very different hands from those of ministers and courtiers. The demagogues who were bent on the destruction of the crown obtained the direction of one of its claimed prerogatives for their own purposes. They were able, by their influence on sheriffs and other officers entrusted with the returns, to vest the right of returning members in several small places where their party had the ascendant. How this happened is not explained; but the fact is certainly so. It was in the Long Parliament that members first sat for Cockermouth, in Cumberland; Ashburton, Honiton, and Okehampton, in Devonshire; and Weobly, in Herefordshire*. The supposed prerogative was again used after the Restoration, and the list extended by a few places.

That the borough system sprung up *at the Revolution*, is, therefore, proved to be a gross mistake. A very common book, the History of the Boroughs, composed too for edification of the lovers of reform, might alone have set the worthy gentleman right. There are few who have not heard of the anecdote of Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, in the reign of Charles II. Sir Joseph Williamson, secretary of state, wrote to her, naming a particular candidate for the borough of Appleby—The haughty Countess answered in these words:—"I have been bullied by an usurper, I have been neglected by a court, but I will not be dictated to by a subject. Your man sha'n't stand." Not only the borough system existed before the *Revolution*

* Parl. Hist. v. ix. p. 23, &c.—Hist. of the Boroughs.

tion, but some of the small boroughs had actually become private property, as the above anecdote proves, and as was the case with the Earl of Leicester's town of Andover, so far back as the time of Elizabeth. CHAP.III.

Those who, like me, consider the Revolution of 1689 as the most fortunate event, conducted as it was, that ever happened to any country, will, when they learn the state of the public mind at that period, rejoice that the borough system entered into the composition of the House of Commons. The multitude, including the greater part of the country gentlemen, were adverse to the Revolution settlement, as has been already insisted upon. The Revolution was achieved by the borough system, and, perhaps, by the small decayed boroughs. Sir Robert Howard, whose large, comprehensive views on the principles of government have been taken notice of, and who, by introducing the mysterious and decisive terms "abdication and vacancy of the throne" into the vote of the Commons, may be regarded as the immediate *Father of the Revolution*, sat for one of the most inconsiderable boroughs in England, Castle Rising in Norfolk, where private influence and management secured the return. The attention of the nation and parliament had frequently been called to the borough system before the Revolution. A multitude of *parliamentary reformers* had sprung up, agreeing only in the wish of curtailing, if not wholly retrenching this system, and differing as widely as the countless numbers of their successors since the Revolution, as to the plan or scheme by which it was to be replaced. The first, in order of time, as far as I can discover, was no less grave a personage than James I. at the very time on the throne. On summoning his first parliament, he thought proper to issue a proclamation containing the following words:—"Next, that all sheriffs be charged that they do not direct any precept for electing and returning of any burgesses to or for any auncient borough town within their counties, beyng soe utterly ruyned and decayed that there are not sufficient resyantes to make such choice, and of whom

CHAP. III. lawfull election may be made." The gentleman who seems ——— to think he has made discoveries in the history of our constitution, has produced this proclamation with perceptible exultation and triumph, as a most recondite and valuable piece of erudition, and of the utmost importance on the question of parliamentary reform. What sanction the authority of James I. will give to the principle, I will not take upon myself to decide; but what object or motive he had in issuing the proclamation it is difficult to conjecture; for, in the volume of the Parliamentary History, where it is to be found, is likewise a list of the House of Commons where his reform was to be broached, and we discover that not only all the decayed boroughs which had been introduced before had been retained, but a large number of the same description added, such as Penryn, St. Ives, St. Mawes, St. Germans, Tregoney, Leskiard, East Lowe, West Lowe, Fowey, Callington.

The grave monarch had indulged his well-known passion for pedantic dissertation, and there it ended. He did not produce any scheme for parliamentary reform. In the subsequent reign, when the House of Commons had consummated the rebellion, and were on the point of tearing up the ancient constitution of their country root and branch, they passed the following resolution, the first part of which has been recited in a preceding page of this work. It bears date the 4th January, 1649, about three weeks before they sentenced their King to the scaffold. Resolved, "that the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, do declare that the people are under God, the original of all just power.

"And do also declare, that the Commons of England in parliament assembled, being *chosen by* and representing the people, have the supreme power in this nation.

"And do also declare, that whatsoever is enacted or declared for law, by the Commons in parliament assembled, hath the force of a law, and all the people of this nation are concluded thereby, although the consent and concurrence of King or House of Peers be not had thereto."

The logic of this resolution will afford room for much CHAP.III.
commentary in the sequel.

The Commons of that time *were not chosen* by the people, any more than they are at present. The borough system not only existed, but had been purposely extended a little before the meeting of the Long Parliament, to let in some of the most violent demagogues, who were thereby enabled to destroy the King and oppress the people. The demagogues were fully conscious of all this.—They knew the people, *the multitude*, in a particular manner hated and detested them and their proceedings. Having, however, in defiance of the truth, resolved that they were elected by the people, and making use of the name *of the people* on every occasion, they were obliged to talk of some reform, by which they might make good their boast, and appeal to the suffrages of that same people. The word reform appears in their journals, and their advocate and admirer, Ludlow, frequently mentions in his Memoirs their having a serious intention to that effect.

They were, however, much too wise to do more than *talk* about any such reform. They never proposed any plan of parliamentary reform. The famous libeller and incendiary, Lilbourne, who, like some of his successors in our times, was against every thing and every body, who, having co-operated with the Commons against the King, had quarrelled with the Commons after the destruction of the King, would not suffer the matter to rest there. Purposely to vex and annoy the Commons, and bring them before that multitude whose name they used, but who, he knew, would repulse them with indignation and horror, he proposed a long scheme of reform, in which the whole right of returning was to be given to the multitude. The Commons, not quite so patient, and more powerful than the unfortunate King, had already committed him close prisoner to the Tower of London. His scheme bears the following title,—“An agreement of the free people of England, tendered as a peace-offering to this distressed nation, subscribed with their own names, and dated from

CHAP. III. our causeless captivity in the Tower of London, May 1, 1649." There were some other names joined to that of Lilbourne. His object being to bring the Commons before the multitude, which would have been destruction to them; the first head or article of his scheme was, "That the supreme authority of England and the territories therewith incorporate, shall reside henceforward in a representative of the people consisted of four hundred persons, but no more; in the choice of whom, according to natural right, all men of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, (not being servants, or receiving alms, or having served the late King in arms or voluntary contributions,) shall have their voices, and be capable of being elected to that supreme trust." What effect "this tendered peace-offering to a distressed nation" had upon any part of the nation, I have not discovered.—It certainly did not persuade the Commons to resign their seats and throw themselves on the suffrages of the good people of twenty-one years and upwards, not being servants, or receiving alms.

When Cromwell, by something more efficacious than argument, or representation, or Lilbourne's *peace-offering*, had turned those usurping Commons out of doors, and got possession of the whole power of the nation, he too chose to assume the character of a *parliamentary* reformer. In convoking his second parliament, he promulgated his theory. He struck out the small boroughs, but the people, or multitude, gained nothing by that. None but the large towns and corporations were to concur with the counties in returning members, but in both one and the other, none were to have the right of voting but persons possessing property to the amount of two hundred pounds value.

After the Restoration, the Earl of Shaftsbury, in the course of his factious opposition to the court, looking round for some topic to inflame the public mind, had recourse to *parliamentary reform*. In one of those parliaments in which his party had the ascendant in the year 1679, a bill having this object in contemplation, was, by his suggestion, proposed in the Commons, read a second

time, and it even reached a committee of the House. It CHAP.III.
went no further, and as it is not noticed in any general
history, it does not appear to have answered the purpose
of the noble demagogue, and to have excited very little of
the public attention. Its principal provisions were to raise
the qualification of electors in counties, and to shorten
the duration of parliaments. After the model of Crom-
well's reform, it established an estate in fee of two
hundred pounds value, as a necessary qualification for
voting, and it provided that parliaments should be biennial.
It went to abolish some of the small boroughs, by enacting,
that no person in any place returning members, except
five considerable cities specially named, should have a
vote that had not resided there for the space of a whole
year before the day of election. It contained a number of
clauses directed against bribery and corruption and dis-
orders in elections.

At the very crisis of the Revolution, during the sitting
of the Convention Parliament, a tract made its appearance
entitled, "Some Observations concerning the Regulating
of Elections for Parliament, found among the Earl of
Shaftsbury's Papers after his death, and now recom-
mended to the consideration of this present Parliament."
In Lord Somers's Tracts, where this publication is pre-
served, immediately under the title there is this further
explanatory notice, (that is to say the Convention Parlia-
ment: for it was not till then that these observations were
made public. In the title-page, we, moreover, find these
authoritative words, *With Allowance*: and not to insist,
that they were printed for *Randal Taylor*, whose name
we find prefixed to many of the most noted *Whiggish*
papers of those times; it is reasonable to conclude, from
the goodness of the paper and print, the correctness of the
text, &c. that it was neither published by a common
hand, nor as a mere matter of amusement. But, what-
ever stress was laid upon it, or the great name that
appeared like a letter of recommendation in the front of
it, the parliament shewed no inclination to adopt the

CHAP. III. system it contains, or to make any alterations in their own; notwithstanding one of the patriot-parliaments in the reign of Charles II. under the direction of that very Earl, had in part set them the example).

That the Earl of Shaftsbury, much as he wished to disturb the government, had no notion of setting up the multitude as supreme masters, will appear by a passage in his *Observations*:—"The great number of electors in *popular* boroughs, and in choosing knights of the shire, requires to be regulated and limited, and the power of election to be fixed in the optimacy alone. My reasons for this are, that amongst the electing crowd, the majority is generally of a mean and abject fortune in the world, and thereby subject not only to disorders and quarrels, but to be misguided also by their ignorance and total want of that discerning faculty, which electors in such weighty concerns ought to have; they are, moreover, under the temptation of being corrupted and seduced by the inveiglements of a little money, or a pot of ale: whilst those, whose circumstances are more enlarged, have their thoughts so likewise; being thereby raised beyond such low allurements, and rendered more careful how, and into whose hands they dispose of this great trust, the breach whereof might at once rob and deprive them of that their substance, which has been the acquisition, perhaps, of some ages. It was for those, and several other reasons mentioned in the preamble, that by the statute of the 8th of Henry VI. c. 7, it was enacted, that no knight of the shire should be chose by any who had not a freehold of the clear yearly value of 40s. per annum, which was then as much in value as £40 per annum is now, or has been, since the finding out of the American treasure, and the enlargement of our trade. And I think it but reasonable, that as the value of money falls, so the wealth of the electors should rise, and that electing votes in the country should again be limited to such only, who now have lands and tenements to that value which 40s. per annum bore in those times when this act was made. If this particular

were thus regulated, the numbers at the county elections CHAP.III. would be reduced, probably to a fourth part of what they now are, and thereby the unreasonable expense in entertaining so great a crowd, and the great dangers which may accrue from such an ungovernable multitude, would be in a great degree avoided and prevented."

Shaftsbury, like other demagogues, when his object was not by flattering the multitude *to make use of them*, faithfully described them. He could not suppress the emotions of disgust which he had often been obliged to dissemble.

After the Revolution, Locke, in the Essay on Government, which has been examined, and which has been thought to have been written with the countenance, if not by the dictation of those who had promoted and accomplished it, expressed his disapprobation of the borough system, and suggested the expediency of abolishing it. We might have been led to conclude from his theory, that he would have had recourse to his darling *people* as the instrument for effecting his purpose. But though he might like the people in distant and fanciful periods, he had no mind to see them in action in his own time. He was not quite so infatuated by his speculations as not to be aware how much the public peace and order of society would suffer by their tumultuous assemblage. He, therefore, like the tamest and least speculative courtier, modestly requests the crown to interpose its prerogative, and carry the right of election to the more considerable places. His friend and patron Lord Shaftsbury, had, on the other hand, in his "Observations," been zealous to abrogate *this* prerogative. He was impressed with the notion, that the same power which *might* carry elections to considerable places, might likewise carry them to places still less considerable, and finally, so transfer them from place to place as to fill the House of Commons entirely with its own creatures. In an earlier part of his life, as will appear when we come to a review of his political career, he had been a warm advocate for the prerogative in question; but when

CHAP. III. he turned patriot, he, consistently enough, it seems to me, with the character, proposed its abolition. In his "Observations," he, in the first place, directly contrary to his former creed, expresses his doubts, whether by the terms of the law and constitution, it strictly belonged to the crown, and recites the doubts of former lawyers. But whether it had belonged to it or not, he maintains parliament ought no longer to suffer it to exist, arguing very justly, it should seem, that it was "a thing of very dangerous consequence to have such a power lodged in the King alone; for then he might, thereby, infranchise what number of vills he pleased, and by the same power, place the election of the representatives in a select number, such as he should always have the power to direct and appoint; which would be, in effect, to choose his own parliament, and thereby to make and repeal what laws he pleased."

Locke was willing at this, or any other hazard, to get rid of the small boroughs, which he disliked; and in this he has found echoes in our days.

It is certain the authors of the Revolution did not, notwithstanding the suggestions of Lord Shaftsbury, purposely laid before them at the very time, and the recommendation of Locke, with whom many of them were intimately connected, think it expedient to make any alteration whatever in the constitution of the House of Commons. Even the prerogative, which was brought under their cognizance by Lord Shaftsbury, they did not pronounce upon. They must have discerned the abuses to which it was liable, and which the noble Earl had pointed out. But they punctiliously adhered to their plan of attending only to the business immediately before them, of regarding no speculative or contingent grievances. They therefore allowed the prerogative in question to remain as they found it, likely to expire in silence under the legal doubts which had been thrown upon it. They, moreover, retained the whole of the borough system; and the question of its influence on the general constitution of the state I propose now fully to discuss. But

there is a previous question which must be got rid of. CHAP. III.
It has been confidently asserted, that the whole of the House of Commons must be *elected*, and this, by the ancient constitution of England, long before the Revolution; that no other element must or can be admitted; and of course, all the boroughs where no election intervenes, forming a large branch of the borough system, must be suppressed. In this all the reformers whom I oppose are agreed, and this is the only point of agreement between them. It is discernible among the reformers before the Revolution, and may be traced among the immense variety that have sprung up at different periods since. Whatever circuit the walks of reform describe, whether it be more or less circumscribed, or disdaining all limit, embrace *universal suffrage*, they all include the abolition of the small boroughs, and this, as is alleged, to restore the ancient constitution of England. Here I begin with a positive and peremptory denial. Never was the House of Commons *entirely* elected.

The worthy gentleman, whose legal and constitutional erudition I have had frequent occasion to celebrate, tells us with his usual intrepidity of assertion, that the question is completely decided by Magna Charta, adding a valuable quotation from that eminent but quaint lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, not, indeed much to the purpose, "That Magna Charta is such a fellow, that he will not bear an equal." When I come to advert to this gentleman's favourite scheme of parliamentary reform, which I understand to be what is called universal suffrage, I will show, I am persuaded, that at the time of that "fine fellow" Magna Charta, there were no elections at all in England—no one member of what may be called the House of Commons was sent there by any manner of election. Election in any shape, and even representation, is of a later date. In the first draught of a House of Commons, such as it is at this day, there is not one word of election. It is hazardous to advance a negative proposition, particularly in the very limited access to books which I have at

CHAP. III. present; yet I think I may venture to say, that the House of Commons being elected, does not occur in the whole history of Parliament, but in the resolution of the regicide Commons, which has been recited. I assume, for the present, that the borough system is admissible, and then I maintain the following propositions, which I defy the whole host of reformers successfully to controvert. 1st, By proving a convenient inlet to the influence of the crown, it has kept together the constitution, which must have gone to pieces without such influence. 2nd, The borough system has been the means of establishing the fairest and best representation that ever was exhibited in any country, and that in the only way compatible with the circumstances of a great, opulent, and luxurious empire, occupying a most important station in the balanced system of European powers. 3rd, In it is lodged a perennial principle of reform, the most salutary and efficacious which any system could produce, and, indeed, which no other system possesses, or could possess. When I come to unfold this third proposition, it will be seen, I am by no means an enemy to every species of parliamentary reform.

A good deal of the argument on the first proposition has been anticipated in the concluding part of the introductory chapter. It has been shown by a review of the reign of Charles II., that *prerogative alone* can never produce an easy, equable movement on the march of our constitution; that all vigour and power, both with a view to foreign and domestic affairs, will be lost by the discordance of the parts. But this conclusion forces itself much more strongly upon us in the history of the reign before.—What was only weakness, and jarring, and contention in the reign of Charles II., was actual dissolution in the reign of his father. Then was exemplified the power of a House of Commons unchecked by any secret bias within doors. The Commons quickly shook off all the other parts of the constitution, and all the forms which at all encumbered their march. They undertook to vindicate this usurpation by argument in their resolution of January 4, 1649.—They

insisted on their *right* to assume the whole government, CHAP.III.
as *elected by*, and representing the people. Their logic
will not be thought of much value. Both the major and
minor of their syllogism have, it is hoped, been proved to
be false. The people themselves had not a right to the
whole government, or any larger share than the ancient
constitution of their forefathers had assigned to them, and
they (the Commons) were not elected by the people,
much less had they any proxy from them. But though
they argued impertinently, they acted vigorously.—*In*
fact, they were able to assume the whole government, and
discard both King and Lords.

This tendency in the Commons to absorb the govern-
ment, began to appear as soon as they had risen to their
full share of importance in the constitution, and were
prepared to develop all their functions. In the early
parts of our history, the name of the Commons appears
indeed in the preambles of Acts of Parliament, but they
possessed no real authority. The Kings did not depend
for support on their scanty supplies, and the whole govern-
ment turned substantially upon the King. Before the
Tudors had been swept off the stage, the importance of
the Commons had become manifest; but their tendency
to supreme power had been counteracted and restrained
by the personal rigour of the monarchs of that race, and
the habits not yet worn off, of past times. Under the
feeble Stuarts, it encountered no check, and disclosed itself
in all its formidable results.

It was from an attentive perusal of our history, that
Hume pronounced long ago* the necessity of some *infl-*
uence on the part of the crown, and it may be added, on
the part of the peers. The truth which this sagacious
observer had but superficially laid down, has been fully
developed by an excellent writer, I believe still living,
Mr. Laing of Edinburgh.

But the English public have been misled by idle and

* Essays, on the Independence of Parliament.

CHAP. III. fallacious theories, chiefly propagated by foreigners, ignorant both of England and the true action of the English government. They were first broached, I believe, by Montesquieu, who, I must think, notwithstanding his prodigious fame and reputation, a very superficial and presumptuous writer. They were retailed by Delolme, who is praised by the eloquent Junius; and then Judge Blackstone, who ought to have known better, but who will not be thought characterized by much vigour and originality of thinking, however we may applaud and relish the sweetness of his style, and the perspicuity of his method, stamped his great name and authority upon them.

These theories suppose no influence or bias in either House of Parliament. They are both perfectly independent of each other, and of the King. Each House adopts or rejects the bill sent up by its co-ordinate estate, and the King stands against both on his "*le roy s'avisera.*" The whole has been illustrated, or rather confounded, by the similitude of a balance, and in the usual progress of things, rhetoric has been converted into logic. All our pamphleteers stun us with a balance, &c. In this balance the King is the middle point or fulcrum. The Lords and Commons are the two scales, which he is to trim and adjust, by shifting his weight from one to the other. The very similitude might have shewn the fallacy of the whole representation. For, how can the King trim and adjust the two scales which must be, as it were one, before he can appear at all in the contention? The bill must be the bill of both the Houses, before the King has an opportunity of testifying either his approbation or disapprobation of it.

Many centuries ago, Cicero, speculating on the possibility of such a union of the simple forms of government, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, though he allowed his beautiful imagination to repose with complacency on the notion, pronounced, under the strict control of his vigorous understanding, that it never could be reduced to practice. Montesquieu had the presumption to think, he

had convicted Cicero of a mistake, and Blackstone, with CHAP.III.
his characteristic simplicity, is quite delighted at the discovery.

But suppose the whole borough system to be destroyed;—suppose even *universal suffrage*, or something like it, to be adopted in an hour of national madness, would the influence of the crown and the peers be removed? Yes, if all revenue was withdrawn from the former, and the peers deprived of their properties. When was it discovered, that multitudes were averse to money, and strong liquors, and good cheer?—by a gentleman whose zeal has robbed him of his common sense. I shall take notice of the rhapsody he has given to the public before I conclude. At present, I say, that what is now influence, would in such circumstances be gross bribery, and scenes of brutal excess and intoxication. *Influence* operates silently and almost imperceptibly, without any disturbance of the public peace, or violation of the public morals. Conducted through secret and mysterious channels, it filters away all its grossness. Excluded from this, ministers, peers, and men of large fortunes would distribute money in handfuls. A few of the more experienced in the arts of popularity among the demagogues might be successful in some places, but the mass of the returns would be effected by remorseless and unfeeling wealth.

It is a flattering view of the conduct of the authors and promoters of the Revolution, to suppose they intentionally retained the borough system with a view to the admission of the influence in question. The worthy gentleman was so far well founded in his assertion, that it is since the period of the Revolution this influence has acquired a certain degree of consistence, and ranged itself with a sort of method. This has no connection, strictly speaking, with the event of the Revolution, or the merits or demerits of the actors in it. The influence grew up by degrees from the operation of other causes. It followed the progress of events;—it adapted itself to manners, and other circumstances, and is now intimately blended with our happy

CHAP. III. constitution of government, which never could have subsisted without it. Circumscribed and defined as the prerogative was at the Revolution, it less than ever could have kept up the assemblage of parts, which is the beauty and perfection of our constitution.

It results from the different elements which enter into the composition of the House of Commons as at present constituted, that the fairest and most complete representation of so highly diversified society as the British, is produced.

That in the process by which this happy result is accomplished, popular election intervenes in a very limited proportion, often does not intervene at all, instead of operating as an objection, must, with every reasonable mind, powerfully recommend it.

Some of those preposterous reformers would persuade us in their pedantic cant, that elections are, *in themselves*, a very great good. We are to do nothing from year to year, but *electing* members to the House of Commons. This is to be the great employment of the nation, and the government must stand still to watch the assembled electors. All our foreign relations are to be forgotten, our high situation among nations, all the vicissitudes of power and changes of measures, by which our *greatness*, and even our independence, may be affected, are to be overlooked or considered as of no importance compared with the operose and elaborate machinery of elections. Popular election, in sober contemplation, is an instrument—it may be necessary to the attainment of some great end. Considered, without reference to some end, it is an evil, and may be a very great one. Any plan which obtains the end without the instrument, or with a limited use of it, is, *in as much as it does so*, so far the more desirable.

Though I do not find in any statute or parliamentary document, that the House was, is, or ought to be *elected*, yet I find the parliament on many occasions declaring it *represents* the nation. This appears in broad characters on the face of the Bill of Rights, which was the completion

of the Revolution. The words are—"The Lords spiritual CHAP.III. and temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm."

A most grave and venerable reformer, in one of the three hundred petitions, which it seems he has composed on the subject of parliamentary reform, undertook in his own proper name, to speak the sense of the whole country, and from himself as their proxy, called for a measure of such extensive and sweeping importance, no less than a change in the constitution of the Empire. In this, with a burlesque solemnity of phrase, he pronounced, "that between taxation and representation, there is in the English constitution, and in the English mind, an inseparable connection." I laugh at the grave pedantry of this promulgation. At the same time, I am willing to concede and even maintain, that it is extremely right and proper that an assembly performing the office of taxation, or any other act of legislation for a nation, should fully and fairly represent that nation, and that no other is fully qualified for the task.

Another reformer, in his plan which he has laid before the public, has thought to recommend it by saying *simplicity* was its character. This is sufficient to show its inadequacy to its object. The representation of a community in the highest degree complex and miscellaneous, must of necessity exclude *simplicity*. Such a scheme of representation loves variety and mixture. It may be compared to a beautiful piece of Mosaic, composed of a number of minute and dissimilar parts, and this is the growth of the borough system acting in co-operation and conjunction with the county elections. While the man of large landed property finds a painful and laborious admission by the road of these elections, the boroughs let in the merchant, the opulent manufacturer. They admit persons who speak the wishes and sentiments of many other classes in the country.

The *mixed* character of a true state of representation

CHAP. III. seems to have entered into the contemplation of our
— ancestors, even at that early period, when the first draught
of a House of Commons professing to represent the nation,
was introduced, in 1264. The writs were sent, not to the
counties alone, or to the landed or agricultural interest,
but to the cities, burghs, and even Cinque Ports, evidently
referring to whatever degree and kind of commercial and
maritime interests existed at the time. The Bill of Rights
speaks of a *full* representation of *all* the estates of the
people of this realm. To think of *representing* a country
like this by any plan founded on a principle of *simplicity*,
is manifestly a most absurd and preposterous concep-
tion.

The commercial, the manufacturing interests, the learn-
ing, the erudition of the country, and many other feelings
and interests in the community, would probably not be
represented at all, were it not for the avenue which the
small boroughs open to the House. Supposing the only
road to it was popular election, more or less extended,
Would an opulent manufacturer or merchant, of recluse
and perhaps uncouth habits, who had spent his life in hard,
unostentatious industry, and whom the possession of great
wealth made a little arrogant and fastidious—would such
a man be easily prevailed upon to canvass the *suffrages* of
the crowd, where he might be opposed by some noisy,
factious demagogue, utterly a stranger at the same time
to the mercantile and manufacturing interests, wanting to
be represented? The same may be said of all those men
of slow parts, but of profound learning, and of the most
valuable acquirements, who court privacy and retirement.
These constitute not only an essential part of a fair scheme
of representation, but the solid body of a useful deliberative
senate in any circumstances whatsoever.

A splendid senate requires too the gay, ornamental
parts, a sort of shining plumage. The witty, the ingenious,
the elegant, should be represented. They were faithfully
represented in our time by a Sheridan, a Hare, a Fitz-
patrick. Would a young adventurer, as Sheridan was at

his entrance in life, have attracted the eyes of the crowd? CHAP.III.
Would the Attic Hare, or courtly Fitzpatrick, have contended at a scene like the Westminster election with the robust lungs, and the frothy, insipid declamation about parliamentary reform, &c. of a —, or —, or —. We might have lost not only them, but even the philosophic eloquence of a Burke, if all the returns were to proceed from the crowd. The noisy, the popular, even the factious in the nation might claim their representatives, and they have had them. A gentleman, now no more, but whose memory is very dear to the reformers, never probably would have got into the House of Commons, but through one of the small boroughs. He long tried every avenue without effect, but at last he was lifted up by one of the small boroughs into the situation he coveted. Never was more strongly exemplified how all things press and crowd towards a fair representation in this country. I would not speak harshly of a man, now some years numbered among the dead. Peace be to his ashes;—yet I hope I may say, without offence, his long life was devoted to the disturbance and annoyance of all parties in the state, of all sets of public men. He was, as a natural consequence, frowned upon by them all, and the circumstances of his situation in life offered a plausible pretext for his perpetual exclusion. Yet by the fame of his abilities, and a certain degree of undefined celebrity which attended him, he, as it were, *forced* his way into the House, and his admirers had the satisfaction, perhaps the mortification, of seeing him there before the close of his career. The combined result has been, that I will venture to say, that a *fairer and fuller* representation of a nation never was exhibited than in the House of Commons. Does a question arise affecting the commercial or manufacturing interests? All the great merchants, all the principal manufacturers are there, and assist in the discussion by the various views of the subject they propose. Is law, either in profound constitutional problems, or descending to details, perhaps of no less importance, to be discussed,

CHAP. III. how many great lawyers present themselves? When, not long ago an alteration was proposed in the criminal code, the House had an opportunity of comparing and balancing ingenious theory and profound learning on one side, and knowledge founded on long practice, conversant with the minutest details of prisons and prisoners, on the other.

Taking the House of Commons as a mere debating society, I have often heard it remarked no other such ever existed; and those who remember a Burke, a Pitt, a Fox, a Sheridan, a Windham, will easily subscribe to the truth of this remark. The present time is not so fertile of prodigies. Ages will perhaps revolve before such a set of luminaries again arise; but even at this moment it would be difficult to name any person of splendid parts who is not in the House. It may be truly said, that there has not been an individual in our time, who had any pretension to be there, who did not find admittance, and chiefly by the small boroughs. If they have let in a few who *ought not* to have been, even in such instances the force of public opinion has been exemplified. The men were conspicuous one way or another, in some walk or department of life. The county returns and the large cities, even such a place as Westminster, co-operate by bringing forward the show of numbers, and introducing the landed and agricultural interests, and some of the demagogues.

What do the arguments, or rather declamatory effusions of the miscalled reformers of all descriptions amount to? Do they impeach the *fidelity of the representation*, which is the object to be attained? No.—They expose, with malicious delight, the *means* by which those fair representatives were introduced. But what is it to the county how they came there? There they are, that is our sole concern, and we may add, they would not have been there if *those* means had not intervened.

But the history of the borough system, which has been exhibited, proves that it is a system liable to great abuses, requiring frequent and vigilant inspection. In the reign

of Charles I. it was an engine by which the throne was CHAP.III.
overturned, and the constitution destroyed. It is now
said to admit in much too large a proportion the influence
of the crown, and that of the peers.

I, for myself, am not convinced, the influence of the
crown is at present much too great. Foreigners observing
ministers to carry most of their measures, and hearing
from our demagogues so much of bribery and corruption,
have persuaded themselves that ministers may do what
they please, that they might propose the most extravagant
measures with certainty of success, and that the House of
Commons is no *real* check or control upon their power.
A Frenchman* tells us an anecdote to this effect:—
Montesquieu happened to meet Law, the author of the
system, some time after his fall from power, in very indi-
gent circumstances, at Venice. Questioning the fallen
adventurer, how he happened not to have carried his
schemes into effect, the adventurer answered—"I had a
very different assembly to manage from an English House
of Commons. I could not render the parliament of Paris
entirely subservient to my will." And the Frenchman
who relates this, indulges much triumph on the occasion.

It is true there is a constant, and as it were, a regular
bias in the House of Commons in favour of the govern-
ment, and it has been shown, that such a bias is necessary
for the maintenance of the constitution.—Ministers are
not arrested by a perpetual system of opposition and
angry censure on the part of the House, administration
goes smoothly and equably along, and *seems* to encounter
no check. But will it follow from this appearance that
there is no real control in being? The most effectual
arises from the circumstance, that the House of Com-
mons *faithfully represents* every part of the nation. I
will not insist upon the instances which have occurred
within some years past, in which ministers have miscarried
in some of their most favourite measures. This is not the

* Éloge de Montesquieu, par D'Alembert.

CHAP. III. check and control I refer to.—It is not by rejecting, but ——— *intercepting* noxious propositions, that this control is exerted. The minister will very seldom *dare* to propose to the assembled wealth and consequence of the nation, to the various mass of public opinion and feeling which the members of the House of Commons exhibit, what is not likely to be accepted; and bribery and corruption are in reality out of the question. What will bribe the great landed proprietor, whom I see there, to betray the landed interest of the country? and what minister will withstand his voice, and that of all his associates round him on a great agricultural question? What boon from the crown, or its minister, will tempt that confederacy of principal merchants and manufacturers to sacrifice the commercial and manufacturing industry of the nation? Here is real check and control, worth all the noisy speeches and remonstrances, and exiles, and breakings up of the Parliament of Paris, operating silently, but most effectually, and maintaining the liberties and prosperity of the country.

I will not, however, deny, the influence of the crown *may* be too great, and it is at all times a fair subject of examination and discussion.

With respect to the influence of the Peers, according to the theories of Blackstone and his successors or predecessors, they ought to have none whatever in the House of Commons; yet the Commons have drawn to themselves almost the entire office of taxation, and have reduced the other House to little more than adding its name to what they have previously resolved. This exclusive right of taxation can scarcely be reconciled in theory with the supposition of the influence of the Peers being entirely shut out; for, have not the Peers large properties, and do they not pay taxes? The awkward perplexity of Blackstone, in endeavouring to explain this right assumed by the Commons, must force itself on the observation of all his readers. But how, in reality, can the influence of the Peers be extinguished, unless their properties be taken away? Will it not be felt by the largest assemblies,

meeting to vote where their properties are situated? So CHAP.III.
that, the real question is, which is preferable, their influence
working its way silently through the boroughs, or influence
obtained by bribery and corruption, and other means
equally injurious to the public peace and morality?

It is, however, conceded, that the influence of the
Crown and Peers may separately or collectively be under
certain circumstances too great.

Other evils may occur. It has been asserted, that a
mistress of the King of France, at one period, got posses-
sion of some borough, and that a Nabob of Arcot had, by
the same means, the return of no less than seven or eight
members. What credit is due to these loose assertions, I
am not prepared to say;—the circumstances are nowise
impossible. The interests and passions of foreign states
might, no doubt, through this channel, mingle in the most
important deliberations of our senate. That this influence
had got admittance to a considerable extent before the
Revolution, the Introductory Chapter will have shown.—It
has not prevailed, at least with any very perceptible
characters, since that event, from the course which the
borough system has, from a combination of fortunate cir-
cumstances, *in fact and practice* taken, admitting chiefly, if
not entirely, the most opulent and independent men of all
classes and descriptions in the nation. But *in fact and
practice* it may take a different course. By its nature and
constitution it admits any individuals, and it *may* prove an
inlet to men of broken fortunes and infamous lives.

I have heard of projects of mockery and insult, formed
in all the insolence of wealth, by thoughtless young men,
who had inherited the property of boroughs.

A decent mysterious veil ought to be preserved over
many parts of the system. This the bad, the scurrilous,
the enemies of public harmony and peace, will, of course,
endeavour to tear to pieces; but the good and wise will
take care not to be auxiliary to their base attempts.—
When obliged to defend themselves, they will do it with all
the caution and circumspection they can.—They know full

CHAP. III. well, that in the affairs of men, in the concerns of human life, in the science of politics more particularly, much will be allowed *in practice*, which shrinks from precept and discussion. They will avoid, therefore, as much as possible, avowals and declarations on the subject of influence. They are aware it exists, and that it is not only necessary and unavoidable, but in reality useful and salutary. They will enjoy the happiness produced, without laying open the means by which it is accomplished. They will, as far as circumstances permit, imitate the prudent silence of the fathers of the Revolution.

It may happen, that some boroughs shall throw off all sense of shame, and expose their venality without disguise. This was asserted of some particular borough in a late meeting of the county of Berks.

It is a part of our national good fortune, that the system carries its correctives along with it. One of its great excellencies is, that so far from excluding *all reform*, it contains a perennial principle of that kind, always applicable to circumstances as they arise, ready to meet any exigency. Offending boroughs may be disfranchised, as was done in the case of Hindon in 1702*.

Furthermore, the system composed of a multitude of ingredients, admits of more or less. The predominance of any one element can be diminished;—the disproportion of any other be rectified. The system is susceptible of gradual closings and openings. Supposing it should appear after mature deliberation, that there ought to be more of popular election in the constitution of the House, that *numbers* ought to be brought forward in a greater degree. Not only have boroughs been disfranchised, but the right of election considerably enlarged, communicated to districts more or less extended, as in the cases of Cricklade and Shoreham, in the present reign†. Did the inhabitants of Birmingham or Manchester press at any time with a very vehement impatience for the right of

* Burn. Hist. v. ii. p. 195.

† Hist. of the Boroughs, p. 160. 233.

returning members? This right may be communicated to CHAP.III. them, according to the plan, if I remember well, of my friend Mr. Brand, and this within the limits of the borough system; but suppose it to be determined, that the House of Commons should be *entirely elected*, and suppose great inconvenience to be felt, that the opulent manufacturers, and merchants, and learned lawyers were found excluded, and the House filled with the pestilential race of noisy, coarse, fanatical demagogues, or the low tools of hardened wealth, where would be the remedy? What means would parliament have of retracing its footsteps? The principle once admitted, is susceptible of no compromise or adjustment, or balancing of ingredients, besides sweeping away the mixed and chequered representation which our state of society requires, and which is, in fact, the bulwark of our liberties, and the safeguard of our prosperity.

Another advantage attending the small boroughs, and which ought not to be overlooked, is, that they afford a refuge against the levity, inconstancy, and ignorance of the multitude. How many distinguished statesmen and learned lawyers would have been lost to their country, had there been no door open but popular election? Perhaps we should not now be benefitted by the great professional learning of Sir Samuel Romilly, or the deep knowledge in political economy of Mr. Brougham.

On the principle that the House of Commons must be *entirely* elected, as I have said, all these pretended reformers are agreed; but proceeding from this they diverge in a thousand different ways. When the question is proposed, *elected by whom*, their answers are as various as their numbers. We have observed in all the plans of the reformers before the Revolution, with the exception of one, while they struck off the small boroughs and established the principle of election for all the returns, they at the same time reduced the number of electors they found in the counties, and imposed strict limits on those they called into action, in the great towns. This may have been particularly remarked in the plans sanctioned and recom-

CHAP. III. mended by the great demagogue (such as demagogues
— were in those days) Lord Shaftsbury. Even Locke, from whom perhaps the notion of the authority attached to the numbers, to the arithmetic of a nation, originated, is far from thinking of bringing forward *his people* in these times, and making them a standing part of the government of his country. The motives which restrained him are obvious; but his successors, caught by his visionary speculations, have not thought proper to imitate the temperance of his practical suggestions. They will have *his people* immediately set afloat, just as when they left their native forests to convene in a great plain for the original establishment of government. Locke did not design any certain extent of country to collect his people from. It may have been more or less limited. But his successors point to the entire population of *the British Islands*. Locke, indeed, forgot the distinctions and classifications of nature; youth, and age, the difference of talents, cunning, activity, &c. But these gentlemen are much bolder:—They have chosen for the scene of their operations the most complex and artificial society in the history of the world. This curious and elaborate fabric they proceed to dissolve with scarcely any pause or hesitation. Men of the largest properties, and men without any property at all, landed gentlemen, merchants, farmers, husbandmen, manufacturers, artisans, &c. &c. they do not condescend to distinguish. In their contemplation they form one promiscuous crowd, one undistinguished mass. Locke did not allow them a right to meet, but at the supposed expiration of every generation; and on this concession, there was much room to doubt whether they could ever meet at all. But in the plans I am adverting to, they are to meet every revolving year, so that we have no chance of escaping from them.

This periodical meeting every year, is, I presume, intended as a sort of atonement and compensation to their injured sovereignty, for confining them to the task of creating a House of Commons, and not at once subjecting all and every part of their government to their sove-

reign disposal, according to the theory of Locke, and the CHAP.III.
promulgation of the regicide Commons of 1649. Whether, when assembled, they will be satisfied with the limited office assigned to them, and not exert their full in supreme authority, is another question. But we will suppose, for the present, they will be content merely to elect a House of Commons. This is called *Parliamentary Reform*, κατ' ἐξοχην. No other is to be listened to. Mr. Brand and his moderate associates are delivered over to derision and scorn. This was called universal suffrage; and I find a noble Duke, now no more, had the weakness some years ago, seriously to propose it to Parliament, under, I believe, that name. It was, at that time, laughed at, as impracticable, and was dropped; but it is not so impracticable as some persons imagine. In the creed, and almost the vocabulary of the *reformers*, every mob, no matter how composed, or from what cause assembled, is *the people*. With this small clause, the plan may be put in practice to-morrow in any town in England. Many former *reformers* were frightened even by the multitude they saw in action at our county elections. They do not appear to have been much edified by their conduct and demeanour, and it was part of their plans of reform, to circumscribe their numbers. A long passage from Lord Shaftsbury's "Observations," to this effect, has been quoted. But no apprehensions or views of this kind are admitted by the present leader of the reformers. Some of his followers, indeed, think him fastidious; for even within the boundless horizon of *universal suffrage*, there is discrepancy of opinion. A few insist on the strict and literal interpretation of the word. They will tolerate no gloss or commentary. Every two-legged animal, without feathers, &c. of I do not know what age, but, I presume, of the masculine gender, has an equal right to a vote with the most pre-eminent proprietor, of whatever description. *Our leader* treats these men as visionaries. He, for his part, being a moderate practical statesman, will admit only all male bipeds, having some house or tenement over their

CHAP.III. heads. A mud-built cottage, he is satisfied, is sufficient
 ————— to sober and direct the judgment, and with this limitation, so little apprehensive is he of the number of his electors, that he proposes to bring them all into action, on the same day, through the whole extent of the British Islands; all this, he is persuaded, will be done without the least riot, drunkenness, or disturbance of peace or good order, and without any expense to the candidates, or the public. His imagination, not naturally the most fertile, teems abundantly at the prospect, and he breaks out into the following rhapsody:—"The simplicity of the plan appears from its being the true constitution of England, which has already prepared all the means ready to our hands of carrying it into immediate effect; and I make no hesitation *in delivering it as my well-digested opinion*, that under the operation of this reform, it would be attended with much less difficulty to return a whole parliament, than to settle a dispute at a vestry about a parish pauper. By the adoption of this plan of reform, those disgraceful practices which now attend even county elections, would be put a stop to;—*no bribery, no perjury, drunkenness, or riot.*" So pleased is the gentleman, that he becomes, in spite of the solemnity and gravity of his character, facetious, and jocose; "no wealthy brewer, as was *humorously* described, who, disappointed of a job, takes, in consequence, the independent line, and bawls against corruption—no opportunity would remain for such mock-patriotism—no leading attornies galloping about the country, lying, cheating, and stirring up the worst passions among the worst people—no ill blood engendered between friends and relations, setting families at variance, and making every county a perpetual depository of election fends and quarrels—no demagoguing," &c.

The reader will, no doubt, be curious to see this plan which was to produce such marvellous effects, and yet to retain *universal suffrage*, which Lord Shaftsbury and former reformers never dreamt of. It certainly deserves to be preserved from among the fugitive productions of the day, as

a singular instance of credulity, and I will say, folly, how-
ever harsh the term, coming from a man not deficient in
parts. The suffrages are to be collected in each parish by
the parish-officers; these are to forward their separate
returns to the sheriff, who is to make out from them the
aggregate and final return to parliament. The compass
of one day, he thinks, will be sufficient for the whole of
this process. The plan, it is evident, rests upon a few
assumptions, the bare recital of which is sufficient to
expose it:—First, The electors of two contiguous parishes
will never think of joining and forming one crowd, what-
ever temptations are held out to them. The parishioners of
St. Giles and Holborn, for instance, divided by an ideal
line, will respect this line the whole of the day, and keep
themselves perfectly separate and distinct.—Supposing an
ale-house on the side of St. Giles's where choice ale and
prime gin are distributed by one of the candidates; he
will vainly think of alluring the discreet, orderly electors
of Holborn.—They will never be prevailed upon to go
over and partake with their neighbouring parishioners of
the good fare held out to them. Secondly, “Soon as the
curfew tolls the knell of parting day,” the electors in all
the different parishes in the kingdom will all go quietly to
bed and not think of re-assembling the next morning. In
the third place, No parochial officer, to whom the separate
return is committed, will be accessible to bribery or cor-
ruption in any shape; and the electors, in their several
assemblages, from the mere circumstance of their being
divided, will be equally pure, above the temptations of
riot and excess, as above those of lucre. Fourthly, No
contest or litigation will ever arise as to the fidelity of any
of the inferior returns, or the aggregate superior return to
be collected out of them. Finally, this immense host of
parish officers and clerks, dispersed over the three king-
doms, will each, and every one, execute their functions
and go through the whole trouble and drudgery of an
election, without fee, salary, or reward, for their amuse-
ment, or in compliment to the ingenious proposer of
the plan.

CHAP.III. This plan, I suppose, will not persuade any man in his sober senses, that *universal* suffrage, or any thing like it, can be admitted, and the security of property, the peace and good order of the county preserved. Universal suffrage means the authority of a licentious, ungovernable populace, and this, we are told, must return every year.

Let the reader picture to his recoiling imagination a Westminster election, or rather worse, in every parish in England, renewed every year. Why, the country would not be habitable.—There would be an end of every species of industry; scarcely would the land be cultivated.—Every quiet man who could assemble a little money, would run to the Continent, and leave the electing multitude to misery and famine. Soon would the poor people be heartily tired of the dull farce of elections. But the whole matter is below the dignity of argument. To think of it we must suppose the entire nation to have lost their senses. Yet I am convinced, the worthy reformer I have so often referred to, would not lend the principle his countenance if he had not so fully satisfied himself of the efficacy of *his plan*, as to be persuaded it can be made perfectly harmless and innoxious. A venerable gentleman, who seems to concur with him, is an object of compassion to every benevolent mind. The poor man has been chattering and scribbling about parliamentary reform for the revolution of half a century, and the subject has worn out the little portion of brains which nature gave him. He is a person of some property, of good connections, of gentlemanly manners and habits, I am informed; yet he is willing to associate with the most coarse, vulgar, and ferocious demagogues and raving fanatics, and give them all the assistance in his power in their project of destroying their country. They have taken advantage of a period of unexampled distress, and would goad a starving, unthinking multitude, it should seem, to rebellion. Their reform, as they call it, can never be adopted by any assembly where there exists the least regard for property or the public peace. It is only by the violence of the multitude they can hope to carry it, and accordingly they make use of topics calculated for

their understandings, affected as they are by the pressure of their wants. CHAP. III.

We have concluded an arduous struggle in the most glorious manner. We have not only peace, but, it might be hoped, have the advantages of victory.—Yet, beyond all controversy, want and distress pervade every part of the community. The landed gentleman not receiving his rents, is sorely afflicted.—This would be matter of exultation instead of sympathy to the writers who flatter the multitude; but the multitude themselves have been affected by the distress of their superiors, whose sufferings they might regard with indifference. The stoppage of rents, circumscribing and almost precluding expense, has operated on the condition of the lowest manufacturer, of the meanest artisan, and is, perhaps, the principal cause of the misery which prevails among the lower ranks.—At least, it is the principal which accounts to my mind for this misery so rapidly, and as it were instantaneously succeeding the conclusion of the war. We are told of foreign markets glutted, and closed upon us from various causes; but did not this evil exist, perhaps in a greater degree, during the war? Yet the very last year of the war was a period of great prosperity.—I am sure it was so in the part of the empire where I reside. How the withdrawal of the war expenditure would affect the rents, and how the stoppage of the rents would affect all the classes employed in the service of the rich, is easily conceived. I certainly think ministers did not take full advantage of our victories to secure to our industry a perpetual access to the markets of the Continent, but with every disadvantage arising from their want of a vigorous policy, these markets must be rather more open to us than they were. Another way in which a state of *peace* may have operated on the condition of the lower orders, is, by the opportunity it has afforded to a multitude of families to leave the country and establish themselves abroad. If I could hope, by any thing I could say or write, to stop this emigration, I would pour my indignation against those unworthy Englishmen, mean enough for paltry purposes

CHAP. III. of economy, or actuated by other as ignoble views, to fly
 ——— their glorious and victorious country, and take refuge among the nations whom the majesty of her arms had crushed. But I know argument, perhaps even legislative enactments are ineffectual against the spirit of emigration proceeding from causes (I speak doubtfully as to these last,) beyond their control. The distress and the emigration have been attended with their natural consequence,—a defalcation in the revenue, and this defalcation can be met only by the most rigid economy, by the most extensive retrenchments. I do not discern any great want of disposition in ministers, or in the present House of Commons, to pursue this course. Perhaps, if I could mould things exactly to my mind, I might excite and invigorate a little this disposition; but I am sure more could not be expected from the House of Commons as it is proposed to be modelled.

The multitude have been told, that all their distress arises solely and entirely from the weight of taxation, that this weighty taxation has been occasioned by unnecessary wars; and that, if they had the election of the House of Commons, wars would cease, and all the taxes be one after another removed. But in the first place, they are assured, they claim no more than what they have a right to under *Magna Charta* and the ancient constitution of the kingdom. Lilbourne, when he thought of something like universal suffrage, only said, every man had a *natural* right to a vote. But our great reformer, as he values himself much on his legal and constitutional erudition, boldly appeals to *Magna Charta*.

The constitution of a parliament at the time of the enacting of *Magna Charta* is pretty explicitly described in the second charter published by Blackstone, bearing date June 16, 1215, in these words:—" *Summoneri faciemus archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbates, comites et majores barones sigillatim per litteras nostros, et præterea faciemus summoneri in generali per vicecomites et ballivos nostros omnes illos qui de nobis tenent in capite.*" I believe it is

now admitted this passage settles the question of the share CHAP. III.
the Commons had in the parliaments of those days. The Commons were the tenants *in capite* of the crown. At the compilation of Domesday Book, they were reckoned about seven hundred in number all over the kingdom. It is not probable their number had increased in the intervening period between that and Magna Charta.—No election took place among these tenants, no principle of representation was known,—nor was it necessary. There was no danger of their coming in too great a crowd;—they attended very irregularly and in small numbers. They do not appear to have formed a separate house from the clergy and greater barons, but such as chose to come assisted at their deliberations. When, after the year 1264, some sort of election or representation for the people of England was introduced, as no rule was prescribed to the sheriffs, they exercised an unlimited discretion,—some calling a greater, some a smaller number to the county elections;—others returning the member without any election at all. We are assured the knights for the large and populous county of York were returned under their permission; in the 13th Henry IV., A.D. 1411; and 2nd Henry V., A.D. 1414, by the attorneys of a few lords and ladies who had great estates in that county, and this practice continued to A. D. 1447*.

It is probable, however, some sheriffs in some counties, with a view to popularity, or other purposes, occasionally assembled very large numbers. These numbers could never have embraced any thing like *universal* suffrage, as has been pretended. In the first place, monks and conventuals of all description must have been excluded, and with them a large proportion of the population. Secondly, villains or predial slaves, then comprehending almost all the very lower order. Thirdly, copyholders, then emerging from a state of villainage, and with them, probably, all leaseholders. But what is of much greater importance than

* Hen. Hist. v. x. p. 59.

CHAP. III. the question, how these numbers were composed? what
 ——— was the judgment of the legislature on the character and effect of these numbers, such as they were? It appears in the preamble of the 8th Henry VI. c. vii. “Item, Whereas the elections of knights of shires to come to the parliaments of our Lord the King, in many counties of the realm of England, have now, of late, been made by very great, outrageous, and excessive number of people dwelling within the same counties of the realm of England, of the which, most part was of people of small substance and of no value, whereof every of them pretended a voice equivalent, as to such elections to be made with the most worthy knights and esquires dwelling within the same counties, *whereby manslaughter, riots, batteries, and divisions among the gentlemen and other people of the same counties, shall, very likely, rise, and be, unless convenient and due remedy be provided in the behalf. Therefore,*” &c. And it is in the face of this preamble, that the great reformer has the assurance to declare his principle of *numbers*, is approved of in *our Statute Book, suggested by a recurrence to the laws and constitution*; and breaking out, in his usual metaphorical language, he exclaims, “*hold by the law, for the new corn must come out of the old fields.*” The legislature was so edified by the conduct and demeanour of his favourite members, that it at once circumscribed them within pretty narrow limits, excluding on *the Statute Book* all freeholders, (this shows that no other description of proprietors was ever before this admitted,) who had not freehold property to the value of forty shillings by the year at the least, above all charges.

I recommend the perusal of this statute to all who are inclined to extend the principle of election and admit the multitudes of large towns.

I doubt whether election is not as widely diffused at present as it ought to be. It is diffused to a much larger extent, indeed, than the legislature of Henry VI. had it in contemplation; the forty shillings a year, of that time, being more than fifty or sixty pounds of our present

circulating medium. In the part of the empire of which CHAP.III.
I can best speak, the change in the value of money has
operated to establish universal suffrage as far as the agri-
culture of the country is concerned. It is sufficient a
man *exists*, to be able to swear he is worth forty shillings
a year. The landlords introduce a life into the lease, in
order to multiply voters, so that there is scarcely a peasant
so poor and miserable as not to have a vote at the county
election. They are for the most part so illiterate and
ignorant, that when asked at a late election, for whom
they voted? it was common for them to answer, why, for
our master, to be sure. Here is a specimen of universal
suffrage. The evil, I find, exists in a great degree in
England; for Mr. Brand, though a zealous reformer, ad-
mitted, that unless there were some change in elections,
the frequency of parliaments was earnestly to be depre-
cated. In Ireland, I know, the multitude of electors
produces frequent scenes of excess, riot, and disorder; and
elections, instead of being confined to the compass of a
day, according to the notion of the great reformer, are
often spun out to one or two months, notwithstanding the
active assistance of a host of officers and clerks, attended
with prodigious expense to the candidates, actually ruin-
ing families. But the evil is tolerable compared with
what is proposed. Peasants and husbandmen are of sim-
ple, docile habits; they are restrained by habits of sub-
mission to their landlords; a sort of discipline is exer-
cised over them, even at the place of election. But the
populace of a large manufacturing town admits of no
manner of control or restraint. If it ever should be
thought advisable to establish elections in Birmingham or
Manchester, the number of electors should, I am apt to
think, be very much circumscribed; and in that event,
perhaps, it would not be amiss to revive the spirit instead
of adhering to the letter of the act of Henry VI. I have
admitted it possible that such a change may, in certain
circumstances, be deemed expedient; but, at present, I
do not see any practical benefit would arise from it. All
the principal manufacturers in the nation are already in

CHAP. III. the House of Commons; nor would the manufacturing interest be assisted by the tumults of elections in the manufacturing towns.

It is remarkable, that in the whole progress of our history, even as far back as the Saxon times, which some of our reformers are fond of celebrating, there is no instance of numbers being admitted in a larger proportion than before, but, on the contrary, fresh exclusions were often imposed upon them. The admission to the Saxon Wittenagenot, or parliament, which at first extended to the possessors of five hides of land, was in the reign of Edward the Confessor, narrowed to the possessors of forty hides*.

I come now to the great topic addressed by the demagogues to the multitude, that if they were armed with power, wars would cease, or the number be greatly diminished, and the burthen which wars occasion intercepted. In particular, they are told the American, and the late French wars would have been avoided, and the burthens which attended them not now press upon the country. I do not remember the American war, but I have heard, to whatever objections of policy or justice it was exposed, it was at its commencement *very popular*, and therefore would have taken place, though the multitude had the sway which is intended for them. With respect to the French wars, I believe, there is no doubt of their both having been popular. On the question of their policy or justice, there is room for much controversy. I have the weakness to confess, I, for my own part, am determined in respect of the first, on which the great controversy arises, by the authority of Mr. Burke, whom, I believe, to have been one of the most humane as well as one of the wisest of men, and who, notwithstanding zealously supported it. I am not ashamed—

“Jurare in verba magistri.”

That it might have been sooner brought to a termination—that the mode in which it was carried on, announced

* Hen. Hist.

no great vigour or large views in the statesman who CHAP.III.
planned it, I am afraid I must admit. I say, I am afraid—
for it is with much reluctance I am induced to fix any
censure on the memory of that statesman. Whatever
faults or defects may be charged on him, his motives
and feelings were entirely and thoroughly *English*. If
ever an English heart beat in a human bosom, it did so in
that of the late Mr. Pitt. He was surprised by a con-
juncture, for which none of his early studies, none of the
events of his past life had prepared him. If history shall
not celebrate him in the number of fortunate statesmen,
it is owing to events and circumstances, which over-
powered the understandings of men, which none under-
stood in theory but Mr. Burke himself*, and which not
even *he* could have withstood or controlled in practice.

But without entering into the controversy about the
American or French wars, the argument of the dema-
gogues rests upon this, if any foundation, that the mul-
titude, the people, the numbers of a country are averse
to wars, not easily engaged to enter into them. This
assumption is contradicted by every page of history. In
the Introductory Chapter I had occasion to take notice of
the first Dutch war in the reign of Charles II. under-
taken not only against justice and policy, but against the
judgments and inclinations of the King and his ministers,
by the impetuous impulse of the multitude or people.
Mr. Coxe has given us, in his life of that excellent minis-
ter, Sir Robert Walpole, another memorable example to
the same effect, which occurred in the early part of the
last century. There never was a more unjust and impo-
litic war than the Spanish war of that time; yet that sober,
temperate, and pacific statesman was hurried into it, in
direct opposition to his own inclinations. I transcribe the
words of Mr. Coxe:—"The declaration of war against

* I know Barrere said to an English gentleman, who visited Paris
during the Peace of 1802,—“that no one had understood the French
Revolution but Mr. Burke.” I leave it to the enthusiastic admirers of
Mr. Fox, who commented with so much spleen and asperity on Mr. Burke's
opinions, to weigh the value of such a testimony.

CHAP.III. Spain was received by all ranks, and distinctions of men, — with a degree of enthusiasm and joy, which announced the general frenzy of the nation. The bells were pealed in all the churches of London; huzzas and acclamations resounded on all sides; a numerous procession attended the heralds into the city," &c,

It is a truth which all history confirms, that the multitude, the people in every country are prone to wars. They rush into them with eagerness, and without any foresight. The news of victory, and the glare of national glory, they deem an ample compensation for every suffering and every privation. We have at this moment an example before our eyes. The Americans are so flushed and intoxicated with the little success of their war with us, that they are ready—

“ To run a muck, and tilt at all they meet.”

Though the government is wise and temperate, the multitude and the whole crowd of vulgar subalterns are trying by every provocation and display of insolence to renew the quarrel. They care not for the payment of taxes, or any fiscal pressure, as long as their vanity is pampered. This will be, till they are powerfully reminded of the causes to which they owe their petty success, and receive the severe castigation they are so industriously earning. For if the multitude are prone to war, they as easily get tired of it. The moment their vanity is not fed by victory, they droop and languish, and complain of their burthens, and as far as their voice goes, would conclude the most humiliating peace. As the first passion must be productive of frequent wars, and all the pressure which wars occasion, so their subsequent depression has a direct tendency to national subjugation. This was very nearly the result in the first Dutch war in the reign of Charles II., and I doubt not our demagogues would in the late French wars have persuaded the multitude to get rid of their burthens by laying themselves prostrate at the feet of the French government.

I conclude a discussion, which after all, may appear

extraneous to the subject of this history, by a course of CHAP.III.
remarks somewhat more nearly connected with it. The
Earl of Shaftsbury presents himself as the *first parlia-
mentary reformer* of a private character in our history.
His name, we are told, was proposed *as a letter of recom-
mendation* to the authors of the Revolution to adopt his
plans. His life will, perhaps, be deemed not an unfair
specimen of the lives of most reformers. Very many of
them, like him, have begun their career of *extraordinary
public virtue* by extraordinary public and private profligacy.
It will be curious to contemplate, in more than
one light, the man who could not bear the corruptions of
the constitution in his time, but loudly called for new
models of purity and virtue. It is not, however, with this
view solely that I introduce him to the reader. The events
of his life are nearly connected with the events which led
to the Revolution. Lord Holland has published, at the
head of Mr. Fox's Historical Work, a letter of that emi-
nent man, containing much laudatory notice of the noble-
man in question. This letter will suggest a variety of
remarks.

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftsbury, was born to a splendid patrimony in the west of England. He gave, in early youth, abundant promise of those extraordinary abilities which he displayed in his maturer age. At the beginning of the Civil Wars he joined the royal party, and repaired to the King's quarters at Oxford. He was received with the distinction to which his birth and character entitled him, and was employed on different occasions for the King's service; but on some pique and disappointment about the government of Weymouth, he wholly deserted his friends, and devoted himself to the other side. As Lord Clarendon has expressed it—"He gave himself, body and soul, to the parliament." The noble historian was certainly not prepossessed in favour of a character so different from his own honest and candid nature, and a little of spleen may be allowed to have mixed itself in his strictures.

CHAP. III. Sir Anthony's propensity to clandestine politics, which — did not abandon him through life, led him, after he had joined the parliament, to a number of secret intrigues and machinations in favour of the royal cause. When the House of Commons fell entirely under the dominion of the army, he became sensible of the danger he incurred if he persevered. With the men who then governed, he would have no subterfuges of forms or ceremonies to shelter himself under. Vigour and promptitude of execution were their eminent characteristics, and they would not wait for the developement of dilatory and punctilious evidence to come down with the full weight and severity of punishment. Some time before his sovereign was brought to the scaffold, he had withdrawn himself *entirely* from public affairs; he, however, returned when the whole power was concentrated in the hands of Cromwell, and accepted situations of public employment and trust under the usurper. In this conduct he was countenanced by the example of men of the most illustrious virtue, such as Sir Matthew Hale. I will not, therefore, presume to censure him, though I cannot help declaring my own opinion that in such circumstances—

“The post of honour is a private station.”

He had a considerable share in bringing about the Restoration, and in the progress of this transaction no one, according to the representation of Whitelock, an impartial narrator, could have carried his dissimulation and hypocrisy farther. When examined by the parliament —“He made the highest professions that could be of his innocence, and the highest imprecations of God's judgments upon him and his posterity, if ever he had any correspondence with the King, or with Sir Edward Hyde, or any of the King's ministers or friends*.” Mr. Fox, however, who, in another instance, is, for particular reasons,

* Whitelock's Mem. p. 679.

so severe in his condemnation of insincerity and duplicity, CHAP.III.
makes no remark on Shaftsbury's conduct on this occasion*. He reserves all his censure for another passage in his life, and it is remarkable it is the only occurrence among the variety of his changes and tergiversations, which he deems deserving of the severity of his animadversions. After the Restoration, he was one of the commissioners for the trial of the regicides. What made it particularly wrong in Shaftsbury to have been accessory to their condemnation and punishment, is a circumstance which does not immediately present itself. It will not be said they were innocent men, and ought not to have been tried at all. Shaftsbury had no participation in the crime for which they suffered, and was not, therefore, particularly disqualified from having a share in inflicting punishment upon them. He was one in the cabal ministry, and distinguished himself among all the odious statesmen of that day, by his zeal and vehemence against the Dutch republic; going so far as to maintain, that the example of their liberty encouraged similar notions at home, and invoking against them the old maxim of Roman extermination, which has since been frequently echoed by the enemies of the freedom of nations—" *Carthago est delenda.*" Mr. Fox, who is so indignant at his bringing the murderers of his sovereign to justice, passes over this with sufficient indulgence, saying only, *it was a bad business.*

He was the chosen instrument for the establishment of an absolute government in England, at the same time that Scotland was handed over to the Duke of Lauderdale, and Lord Robarts sent to supersede the Duke of Ormond in Ireland. When it was thought proper to issue a *declaration of indulgence*, without the authority of parliament; a similar proceeding to that which, in the subsequent reign, was the immediate cause and forerunner of the Revolution, which is the subject of this work, the conscientious Sir

* See afterwards.

CHAP. III. Orlando Bridgeman could not be persuaded to affix the great seal to the declaration; but Sir Anthony Cooper, resolving to supplant him, with profligate alacrity undertook the business, and was appointed Lord High Chancellor in Sir Orlando's place. He received the Earldom of Shaftsbury, and continued to deserve further favours by the most abject submission to the court. It was in the House of Commons that this future *parliamentary reformer* particularly busied himself with his corrupt practices, "introducing," in the words of Lord Keeper North, "a few of his own creatures to be burgesses in the west country." He found the prerogative claimed by the crown, of shifting the right of franchise at pleasure, singularly convenient for his purposes. This he afterwards denied legally to exist, and represented it as in the highest degree dangerous. At this period, however, he celebrated and exalted it in terms of the most inflated panegyric, calling it, "one of the brightest jewels in the crown;" maintaining, with the most vehement earnestness, "that by his proceeding the royal right was asserted, which was derived from the earliest antiquity; neither was it taken away, till the rebellious parliament prevailed; that, therefore, the King did only renew an ancient prerogative of all his ancestors, which was lost, not long ago, in open rebellion*," &c.

The time was now come which was to convert Shaftsbury into a patriot, and secure to him the eulogies of Mr. Fox, so as almost to obliterate the transgression of having been concerned in the punishment of regicides. He observed the indolence and weakness of the King, with whom he was no personal favourite, and he began to be apprehensive he might be delivered up for punishment, to appease the clamours of the popular party. But Shaftsbury had too long been conversant with civil tumults, and civil dissensions, not to have discovered the singular ductility of the popular mind; and that he who carries to the highest, the violence and deafening jargon of simulated

* Bishop Parker.

patriotism, will cancel the memory of all past servility and CHAP.III.
profligacy. He deserted, as he had done in the Civil Wars. —
Lord Keeper North thus describes his change: “When
Shaftsbury found he was to be questioned first, and for
what he had said and done, he fell to his old courses, by
which he used to save himself in former changes, and
dealt underhand with that party that opposed the court;
and recanted publicly and suddenly, by disapproving the
declaration, and thereby saved himself with them, who
thought it would be of more service to have the King’s
councils betrayed, than to make the Earl of Shaftsbury an
example.” So far from thinking of making the Earl of
Shaftsbury an example, they received him with transport,
and attached themselves to him with enthusiasm. He was
our leader. They celebrated him “as the father of his
country, and as a deliverer descended from heaven*.” His
share in the cabal ministry was forgotten; and even, at the
distance of more than a century, comes Mr. Fox, the echo
of all popular clamours, and finds out he had not the *prin-
cipal* concern, at least, in the shutting up of the Exche-
quer. This defence is worthy of the writer, who had
called his share in the Dutch war *a bad business*. An
occurrence, however, meets us in our progress, which fills
us with every sentiment of horror, and might be supposed
to excite the strongest emotions in a person so distin-
guished for humanity as Mr. Fox indisputably was:—I
mean the Popish Plot. That this, from the beginning to
the end, with the exception of some rash conduct on the
part of Coleman, was a horrible fabrication, is, I believe,
agreed upon by all writers at this day. But from whom
did this fabrication originate? Who was the inventor of
the hellish fiction, and consequently the murderer of all
the innocent victims, whose blood it shed? This is a
most important question in history, which has been care-
lessly passed over by all our historians. I will pause a
moment upon it. Is it conceivable, that such obscure

* Bishop Parker.

CHAP.III. wretches as Dr. Tongue, and Dr. Titus Oates, and Bedloe, — should of themselves, and without some secret instigator or mover, speculate on so extensive a scheme of murder, involving the destruction of men of the first rank and consequence, moving in a sphere of life so far above them, with whom they could have had little intercourse, scarcely any acquaintance? The fiction was, no doubt, a heap of absurdities, and for that very reason possessed every charm for the populace, or multitude; yet, with these absurdities was discernible much of a certain ingenuity and art. The several parts of the plot were brought out with a studied succession. The witnesses made their appearance one after the other, and their stories always had reference to the degree of popular heat and credulity prevailing at the time.

The death of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, with every appearance of violence on his body, just at the time it happened, has never been clearly accounted for. That it transported the populace to fury, and overpowered every suggestion of reason and common sense, securing the full triumph and prevalence of the plot, is well known. Hume intimates, Godfrey might have been assassinated by some private enemy. This, no doubt, is possible; but the coincidence, in point of time with the plot, must appear extraordinary. He might have died by his own hand. This, likewise, is possible. The appearances, however, of the body were stated to be against the supposition; and suicide was not common in those days, particularly among persons of Godfrey's situation in life. Lord Keeper North, from combining all circumstances, was convinced there was some artful and contriving head at the bottom of this business*; and suspicion will point to the Earl of Shaftsbury.

The persons in the two Houses of Parliament who were most zealous and clamorous for the prosecution of the plot, were the Earl, and Lord Russel. Without any

* See the Lord Keeper's reasonings digested into heads, in Dall. App.

fulsome panegyric on the gentleness and humanity of character which are said to have distinguished the latter; — I shall insist on a circumstance conveying a very different impression, which, however, I will make use of to exculpate him from any charge of this kind. When the good Lord Stafford was condemned to an ignominious death under the plot, and the King remitted to him the more barbarous parts of the sentence, the *humane* Lord Russel exclaimed against this use of the prerogative, and was strenuous the whole of the sentence should be literally executed. Here was party ferocity in its most sanguinary form:—But what would be our feelings if we represented to ourselves this same Lord Russel the fabricator of the plot, and loudly pressing for the more severe punishment, with the consciousness of this at his heart and on his lips? The most odious monsters of antiquity would sink on the comparison; but the mediocrity of Lord Russel's character in every respect, in abilities and in ambition, points him out rather as the wretched dupe of the imposture, than as a criminal of so black a die, and of such tremendous extent.

Lord Shaftsbury had no such mediocrity to plead. His abilities were of the most splendid description, and his ambition of the most violent and daring kind, less scrupulous in the means of gratifying itself, and of a more enterprising and stirring temper than that perhaps of any statesman exhibited in English annals. The Civil Wars, too, may be imagined to have hardened his heart, and prompted him to shed human blood with less compunction than could have been the case with a man bred up in times of ordinary repose. Yet there was one crime which he must have committed, and of which we shall hardly persuade ourselves him capable, that is, the suborned murder of Godfrey, his own agent and dupe. A woman, it is true, and a woman who has been frequently extolled as a model of republican virtue, an exemplary republican matron, has had the audacity to write for the perusal of after-ages the following narrative:—"In the course of the month of July 1792, the conduct and dispositions of the court

CHAP.III. exciting general suspicion, each (of the patriots) proposed
 — his scheme for baffling and counteracting them. What, said one, if the people were to be persuaded the court had caused one of their patriotic deputies to be assassinated? would not this render them outrageous, and excite them to an insurrection which might destroy the whole court? A virtuous citizen listened in silence. He took the first opportunity of drawing the proposer aside. The court is too wily to assassinate, or cause to be assassinated. Procure some one to strike the blow, and let me fall the victim. It will be thought I was murdered at the instigation of my sovereign, and his faithful servants, and the glorious consequences you so eloquently described will follow. What, are you capable? Yes, no doubt. —What is my life? I am ready *to sacrifice it for my country*. No, exclaims the other with an inspired air, You shall not fall alone—*I will divide this glory with you*;—I will concert the means. A few days after, it is announced to the first, that every thing is ready. Men have been engaged to commit the murder, and they have only to walk in a certain street.—The deed would be executed by their own accomplices, and their blood laid at the door of the King and his ministers. The virtuous citizen goes and makes his will without the least affectation, and repairs to the spot where blood is to flow, and whence the most atrocious calumny is to be propagated. He walks round several times, impatient to be sent into the other world with such virtuous feelings at his heart, but the cowardice and hypocrisy of his companion had disappointed him, and he returned home with the pious indignation which disappointment in such circumstances must have occasioned*.” This is the narrative of a woman, divested only of the proper names, which are nothing to the purpose;—the real meaning extracted out of the jargon in which it was composed. Had Shaftsbury been educated in this new school of morality, he would have

* Œuvres de Madame Roland, v. ii p. 252.

had little hesitation in sacrificing Sir Edmondbury God-frey for the purpose of raising a popular flame against a corrupt court. But no one had yet ventured to preach up such morality, and recommend such models of virtue and heroism. Shaftsbury was an *Englishman*; that is saying enough,—English manners, and English principles are abhorrent from such notions.

There is an observation of Hume on the supposition I am discussing, full of sagacity and good sense, evincing much knowledge of human nature. As its tendency is to discharge Shaftsbury, I wish it to operate with full and entire cogency.—“ Besides, the whole texture of the plot contains such low absurdity, that it is impossible to have been the invention of any man of sense or education. It is true, the more monstrous and horrible the conspiracy, the better was it fitted to terrify, and thence to convince the populace: but this effect, we may safely say, no one could beforehand have expected; and a fool was in this case more likely to succeed than a wise man. Had Shaftsbury laid the plan of a Popish conspiracy, he had probably rendered it moderate, consistent, credible, and on that very account, had never met with the prodigious success with which Oates’s tremendous fictions were attended.”

Mr. Fox refers to Shaftsbury’s conduct in the Popish Plot, and denominates it a blot which can never be wiped off. What this conduct was, he does not expressly design. He cannot be supposed to refer to him as the author of the whole fiction, for so atrocious a crime must have deprived him of all claim to his favour or indulgence, and left in his breast no other emotions than those of unmitigated horror and indignation. Instead of this, Mr. Fox is inclined to extenuate his conduct, bad as he pronounces it to be. His plea of extenuation is rather curious. It is conveyed in the following words:—“ Indeed he seems to have been strictly a man of honour, if that praise can be given to one destitute of public virtue, and who did not consider Catholics as fellow creatures; *a feeling very com-*

CHAP.III. *mon in those times.*" It may be doubted whether Mr. Fox would have hazarded these words in any writing or composition intended to meet the public eye. He would hardly have thought of defending the eloquent and accomplished Earl of Shaftsbury, the friend of the liberal and tolerant Locke, by a plea which could only be applicable to the meanest and most vulgar fanatic, to such a creature as College, who fell a victim to the law, when his superiors and prime movers escaped. But Mr. Fox will not give up Shaftsbury.—He certainly is singularly prepossessed in his favour. He not only dwells with the most marked complacency on his eloquence and splendid abilities, which cannot be questioned, but, as in adverting to his share in the cabal ministry, he discovered he had no principal concern in shutting up the Exchequer; so, in recollecting all the objectionable parts of his conduct, he is pleased with the idea that he was ever "superior to vulgar corruption."

In both these attempts at *a set off*, Mr. Fox has difficulties to encounter. In the first, he contradicts the narrative of an eminent historian; and in the second, evidence which I must think decisive—the reports of two several French ambassadors to their court. Hume expressly says, the project of shutting up the Exchequer originated from Shaftsbury, though, in his usual manner, he contrived another should be the ostensible proposer of so obnoxious a measure. But it may be said, Mr. Fox weighed all his facts with more scrupulous diligence than Hume was accustomed to do. I am not disposed to combat this opinion, and I pass to Shaftsbury's "superiority to vulgar corruption," which is mentioned with so much exultation. First with respect to the justice of this praise. On the 2nd of April, 1671, Colbert, French ambassador, after enumerating different presents he had made, says he is to make one to Buckingham and *Ashley Cooper*. This, if he ever received, it may be said, he did with the knowledge and approbation of the King. But the same disposition he evinced at a subsequent period.—No specific

sum is set down against him, as in the instance of Sydney. CHAP. III.

He does not, perhaps, like him, present himself with his hands all bedaubed with French gold; yet Barillon speaks of him in this manner, Dispatch, 14th December 1679:—

“He (Mr. Montague) has often spoken to me of getting Lord Shaftsbury into your Majesty’s interests, and alledges, that it would not be impossible if a considerable sum were employed.”

But supposing, for argument sake, this praise of Mr. Fox’s to have been deserved.—Let Barillon, let Colbert, not be credited. Let us adopt the fond persuasion of his panegyrist, that Shaftsbury was “superior to vulgar corruption.” Will this circumstance alone be thought to raise his character in so high a degree? Will this counter-vail a life of continued treachery, profligacy, turbulence, and sedition, ready to break out into the most violent and even atrocious acts? Will this induce us to forgive the head and prime mover of the cabal ministry? The author of the Dutch war, who, after having betrayed the court into guilt and shame by his councils, suddenly turned round upon it and pursued it with unrelenting acrimony and fury; who, as he would have destroyed liberty both at home and abroad, at one period of his life, would have overturned the government of his country at another? Those who could excuse, and even panegyrisé as a model of republican virtue, a ferocious regicide in a neighbouring country; who, besides the blood of his sovereign which he bears on his head, was a principal in one of the most tyrannical and merciless governments recorded in history, will, of course, join in Mr. Fox’s defence of Shaftsbury. But he who takes a comprehensive view of the several modifications of character by which human happiness is affected, and the peace of human societies disturbed, will not, I believe, be inclined to attach any very pre-eminent merit to the single circumstance of “superiority to vulgar corruption.” He knows that some of the most atrocious wretches, who have, at different times, involved their country in destruction and blood, may be said to have

CHAP. III. merited this praise. They were men of hard heads and
—— hard hearts, who had no relish of the pleasures and enjoy-
ments which money can procure. Theirs were none of
the softer infirmities of human nature. Their vices were
of a higher order, of more marked and terrible features.
The mean creatures who take bribes, rather excite our
contempt;—they are, for the most part, below the dignity
of hatred. The giants of wickedness, have, at all times,
been “superior to vulgar corruption.”

CHAPTER IV.

William and Mary crowned King and Queen.—Oath of Allegiance.—Coronation Oath.—Convention converted into a Parliament.—Conspiracies against the Revolution Government suppressed.—Revolution completed in England.—Question of a Union between the three Kingdoms adverted to.—Scotland; Civil and Military Transactions there.—The Revolution Settlement finally extended to it.—Ireland remains to be fought for.—Irish Protestants originally an English and Scotch Colony.—Auxiliaries of the English Government.—Act of Settlement made in their favour.—Rise against the Authority of James.—London-derry shuts its gates against his Troops.—He lands in Ireland, proceeds to Dublin.

1689.

THE scheme for supplying the vacancy of the throne was adjusted, and received the sanction of the two Houses as early as the 7th of February. The Lords and Commons did not, however, deem it expedient to consummate this act, till they had digested and completed the scheme which declared the rights of the nation, as they had suffered from the late misgovernment. The invasion of those rights was the *necessity* which justified the great measure of the transfer of the crown. It was, therefore, agreeable to the natural order of ideas for them to wish to blend the two schemes into one, and give them the appearance of one undistinguished, solemn, national act. The *Bill of Rights* being duly prepared on the 12th, the very next day being a Wednesday, the two Houses went in solemn procession to the Banqueting House at Whitehall, where, with no other pomp than what arose from the greatness of the occasion, and the names of the illustrious

CHAP. IV. magistrates who assisted, they tendered the crown of these
 1689. realms to the great national deliverer William, and for the reasons that have been explained, joined to him in form and title his consort Mary, the eldest Protestant issue of the late sovereign James. The parliamentary declaration of the Bill of Rights was first read with a loud voice by the clerk of the crown. Then the Marquis of Halifax, who had acted as Speaker of the House of Lords throughout all the discussions, on his knees made a tender of the crown. William answered for himself and his consort. He made the rights of the nation as declared in the bill, the foundation of his acceptance. "This (the Bill of Rights) is certainly the greatest proof of the trust you have in us that can be given; which is the thing which makes us value it the more, and we thankfully accept what you have offered to us.

"And as I had no other intention in coming hither, than to preserve your religion, laws, and liberties; so you may be sure that I shall endeavour to support them, and shall be willing to concur in any thing that shall be for the good of the kingdom, and do all that is in my power to advance the welfare and glory of the nation."

William
and Mary
proclaimed
King and
Queen.

From the Banqueting House, the Lords and Commons went in the same solemn procession to different parts of the city, and proclaimed William and Mary King and Queen of Great Britain and Ireland.

The throne being now filled, the oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns became the object of parliamentary consideration. A distinction had been admitted into the minds of many. They did not approve of the Revolution which had transferred the crown to William and Mary, but they were not unwilling to lend them their support, now that they were *in point of fact* invested with the royal title and authority. Some of the most distinguished Tories undertook to draw up the form of the new oath, and they appear to have had it in contemplation to soothe and humour this distinction. The ancient form had run to the King as *rightful and lawful King*. They

purposely omitted these words;—the suggestion origi-
nated from Lord Nottingham. Lord Clarendon was the
actual proposer of the oath. It was in these words—

CHAP. IV.
1689.

“ I, A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be
faithful, and bear true allegiance to their majesties, King
William and Queen Mary.” Oath of
allegiance.

In this form there was no sort of retrospective reference to the proceedings or circumstances which had made them King and Queen, but merely acknowledged them as *in fact* bearing that title. The Whigs and friends of liberty, who might have wished to be more explicit, were content to wave the exposition of their principles, and sacrifice their triumph as a party to the success of the *thing*. To get rid of delays, they acquiesced in the form proposed, and were not disposed to raise any cavilling opposition to scruples, whether real or pretended. Some consciences might have been appeased and gained over to the support of the Revolution, but the distinction pointed out by the oath favoured the treachery of many. They took it as merely pledging them to actual obedience, while the sovereigns were in possession of *the power*; but as they did not admit it as a recognition of any manner of *right* in them, they felt no scruple at any proceedings or machinations which tended to put an end to *their power* as soon as possible. The partisans and adherents of Archbishop Sancroft, more sincere or more fanatical, obstinately refused to take advantage of this distinction, and stoutly maintained their title to the name of *Non-jurors*, by rejecting this as well as every other form of oath to the Revolution. Their leader and example set no bounds to his sullen and bigotted opposition. He had carefully absented himself from court; he had refused to attend any of the debates in parliament. When Queen Mary sent to ask his blessing, he rudely answered, “ that she must ask her father’s first, without that his would not be heard in Heaven.” He could not be prevailed upon to perform the ceremony of coronation. So seducing is the example of fanaticism, that no wonder numbers of the clergy, and

CHAP. IV. many of the laity aspired to rival the obstinacy and infatuation of this weak prelate.

1689.

Of the bishops who had been persecuted by James, and celebrated as the confessors of the Protestant religion, only one, Lloyd of St. Asaph, paid homage to the new settlement. They endeavoured to give additional weight and effect to their present opposition from their past conduct. In a variety of addresses they reminded the public of what they had sustained in favour of the Protestant religion, which sufficiently manifested they were no friends to Popery, and supported the conclusion, that in what they urged they had no motives but religion and conscience. To vindicate the supposed dictates of religion and conscience as opposing the change in the occupier of the throne, the Non-jurors tired the press with publications. They revived an absurd performance of Sir Robert Filmer, though the author had lain many years slumbering in his grave. This the Philosopher Locke victoriously refuted. The party did not gain much by their controversial arts. The bishops, who had before set the nation in a flame, when allied with the name of the Protestant religion, found their rhetoric little persuasive in favour of a Popish Prince. Confounded in this experiment, some of them had recourse to conspiracies and correspondences with foreign countries. A letter addressed to the exiled monarch was intercepted, in the hand-writing of the Bishop of Ely, containing these remarkable words:—"I speak in the plural, because I write my elder brother's sentiments as well as my own, and the rest of the family, though lessened in number; yet, if we are not mightily mistaken, we are growing in our interest, that is in yours."

When the form of the oath received the sanction of parliament, it was enacted at the same time, that any bishop who had not taken it before the 1st of August, 1689, should incur the penalty of suspension, and if he still refused for six months after, he should be deprived of his see.

Provoked by these conspiracies, the King no longer CHAP.IV.
hesitated to carry the menace of parliament into execution.

The non-juring prelates were ejected. Sancroft was suc-
ceeded by the eloquent and virtuous Tillotson, one of the
brightest ornaments of the established church of England.

1689.
Non-juring
bishops de-
prived of
their sees.

These victims of royal fanaticism fell unpitied by the
wise; but what is more remarkable, their fate seems to
have excited no commotion in the multitude. They
might have hoped better from the folly and absurdity of
their tenets; but so it was. The stream of the Revolu-
tion once impelled forward, followed its course, and its
opponents were soon forgotten.

That folly in the instance of these prelates was not
unattended by its usual companions, duplicity and false-
hood, appeared after the detection of the Bishop of Ely's
letter. It plainly implicated those of the bench, who
associated with him in their political theology, yet did
they not scruple in a former appeal to the nation, to call
heaven to witness they were totally ignorant of conspiracies
and foreign correspondence; and in the cant of simulated
meekness, which seems the peculiar property of theological
rancour and malignity, prayed for mercy and forgiveness,
on those worldly men who could oppose the evidence of
letters and written documents to their pious denials.

Yet it is impossible to deny that many of these weak
men were misled by what they conceived the force of
religious obligation. After the attachment they had
manifested to the Protestant religion, they could scarcely
hope that any zeal of loyalty could plead in atonement
with so bigotted a Prince as James, or secure to them
any portion of his favour in the event of his triumphant
return. I will not assert this opinion with much confi-
dence;—the speculations of folly are manifold. To prove
a notion contrary to common sense, is not to prove that it
did not exist in minds of a certain frame and construction.
However, the death-bed of the Bishop of Chichester, one
of the ejected prelates, may be appealed to in evidence of
his religious principles. When lying in momentary

CHAP. IV. expectation of dissolution, and beyond the reach of any
 1689. sublunary motives, after receiving the sacrament he expressed the inward satisfaction he felt at the thought of having been esteemed worthy to suffer for the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. Sancroft lived some years in seclusion, and closed his eyes in the confession of a *non-juror*.

Coronation
oath.

At the time the oath of allegiance was proposed, the coronation oath to be taken by all future sovereigns of England was likewise settled. Part of the oath was "to maintain the Protestant Religion." The church party apprehensive these words might embrace all modes of Protestant dissent, contrived to narrow the support and maintenance they promised by the limitation "as established by law." The Dissenters, on the other hand, dreading the construction of this limitation as intercepting all acts of the legislature, in their behalf moved, "that nothing in this act should be understood to disable the King from assenting to any bill presented by the two Houses of Parliament for altering any form or ceremony of the established church, provided her doctrines, liturgy, and episcopal government, be preserved." What evinces the ascendancy of the church party even at this period is, that this motion was not carried.

Convention
converted
into a par-
liament.

No sooner had the convention executed the delicate task of completing the frame of the constitution, and supplying the deficiency of the kingly functions and title, than a desire manifested itself of impressing a legal, recognized character on their subsequent proceedings, by the assumption of the revered name of parliament. This was to be effected by the ministry of the King, whom they had, with such caution, ventured to instal. Sir Edward Seymour, at the head of the Tories, moved, that there being now a King, he should issue writs for a parliament. The Whigs dreaded the issue of new elections, which would put many of them in the power of the multitude, to whom they knew they were generally obnoxious, and particularly after their late proceeding, which secured the stability of the British

government, and entitled them to the gratitude of all succeeding generations. They, of course, therefore, resisted the motion of Sir Edward. The Tories, as a party, were interested in supporting it. They would probably obtain entire masterdom of the House of Commons by its success. But *individuals* would have to sustain much trouble and expense. The motion dropped by the opposition it met with from one side of the House, and the cold reception it experienced from the other. The two Houses concurred with the King, in calling themselves a parliament, and passing an act which received the name and force of an act of parliament, for annexing a parliamentary character to all their proceedings, "notwithstanding any want of a writ or writs of summons, or any other defect of form, or default whatsoever, as if they had been summoned according to the usual form."

CHAP. IV.

1689.

No sooner had William assumed the exercise of the government, than the French ambassador had been ordered to leave the kingdom. It was then known that the discarded sovereign had directed his flight to France, where he was received by the old friend of his religion and politics, with the most cordial hospitality. Lewis, not satisfied with this flattering and ostentatious reception, set on foot extensive preparations to restore him to his crowns. Early in March a fleet sailed from Brest, commissioned to convey him, with a train of French officers, and some troops, to Ireland, where the body of the inhabitants were prepared to receive him, and support him in his attempts to recover the whole of his dominions. As soon as the news of this armament, and its destination, reached England, both Houses of Parliament concurred in addressing William, to declare war against France, pledging themselves to the most zealous support of their sovereign, in the prosecution of hostilities. William wanted little incentive, and war was declared agreeably to their wishes.

War with France.

The disposition of the nation at the time of the elevation of William, could scarcely be termed that of neu-

CHAP. IV. trality. It was rather that of sullen, and not very concealed disapprobation; but, when they saw James attempted to be imposed upon them by the triumph of French arms, and the pressure of French domination, one general sentiment was kindled in the breasts of men, and pervaded all ranks. Scarcely any were so mean, or bereft of the spirit and pride of Englishmen, as to be willing to owe the success of their most favourite theory of government, to the conquering power of the ancient and national enemy of their country. It was a magnificent spectacle to contemplate a great nation, crowding in a body round the hero of their rights and privileges, in defence of their altars, and the sepulchres of their fathers. The navy, that sturdy guardian of the independence of these islands, took the lead. The officers solemnly abjured a Prince, who had besought the assistance of France, and was content to reign by her victorious interposition. Ten thousand Cornish miners were seen to issue from their dark retreats, and raise their muscular arms in the cause of William and liberty, offering their lives to support them. The Common Council of London desired permission to arm nine thousand men, and the Lieutenancy to embody six thousand more. Private subscriptions and contributions were every where set on foot, and in the city of London alone was, by this means, obtained in a few hours, money to maintain two regiments of cavalry.

1689.

National
enthusi-
asm.Conspira-
cies against
the govern-
ment.

But, in the midst of this national zeal and enthusiasm, it could not be expected that some should not be found to merit the character of a degrading exception, mean and degenerate enough to negotiate and cabal with France, for the promotion of their separate views. That this should be the case, where the complexion of religious and political tenets had a perceptible tendency to favour despotism, might excite indignation, but could not be a matter of much surprise; but that men, denominating themselves *republicans*, affecting not to be satisfied with any portion of liberty compatible with monarchical forms, should have joined in the conspiracy, for the restoration of a Prince,

to whom every degree and form of liberty was avowedly odious, and whose whole life had been employed to exterminate them, will not be believed, without some discussion and explanation. CHAP. IV.
1689.

The degree and kind of liberty flowing from the English constitution, possesses every advantage over whatever republican forms ever conferred. It is not surprising, then, that those self-important gentlemen, who are pleased to call themselves *republicans*, among us, should, in general, be men of the meanest abilities, either wild visionaries or despicable dupes, ringing changes on the word *republic*, without any distinct knowledge of its real meaning, or perception of the benefits, which, in their noisy enthusiasm, they would persuade us they are busy in pursuing. Accordingly, they have, at different times, attached themselves to the most despotic sovereigns upon earth, and entered into their views against the constitution, and even independence of their country, provided only they could soothe their upbraiding consciences, and flatter their distempered imaginations with the name of a republic. We have seen this in the instance of Algernon Sydney and his compeers. It was renewed in the case of Ferguson, the most active agent in the cabals and conspiracies against the government of the Revolution, to which I am advertising. This Ferguson had been in the Duke of Monmouth's expedition—had been pardoned by James, and had requited the favour, by lending his slender assistance to forward the Revolution. He now assumed the name of a *republican*; and, because a republic had not been the offspring of the Revolution, was anxious to restore James, with all his religious and political appendages. Ferguson is represented as less of an enthusiast than a knave. In these men, enthusiasm and knavery are found in pretty equal proportions. It is of no great importance to determine the precise degrees in Ferguson in particular. This motley league of self-called republicans, avowed jacobites, and non-juring prelates, happily for these favoured islands, proved abortive. Lord Preston, who had been secretary

CHAP. IV. of state after Sunderland, in the last days of James's reign, and who may be esteemed one of the avowed jacobites, was seized, and some discovery obtained from him, of the intrigues of the allied parties. But the seizure of one Ashton, whom they had deputed to the court of France, was accompanied with a complete detection. He had been provided with all the papers necessary to the object of his mission. On him was found the epistle from the non-juring prelates, which has been taken notice of. Deeply implicated in the plot was a man, respectable, if not from his character and past conduct, yet, from the glorious profession to which he belonged, and the commission he had borne—a British admiral, Lord Dartmouth. His motive is said to have been to wipe off the suspicions which hung over his fidelity in not having intercepted the Prince of Orange's expedition, and which derived additional strength and colour from his conduct after the landing of the Prince, which has been related in its place. Thus in the usual progress of evil, he aggravated one turpitude by another, treachery to the sovereign who had trusted him, by treachery to the country to whose liberties and glory his character of a British seaman so closely bound him. He not only conspired to bring a foreign yoke upon England, but distinctly entered into measures for surrendering her naval sceptre. He transmitted a list of the English navy to the French court, and proposed English seamen should be decoyed to man the French fleet. On the discovery, Dartmouth was imprisoned in the Tower, where he died soon after. The King, intent on respecting the character even in a worthless individual, ordered him to be buried with the honours due to an admiral of England.—Lord Preston found means to escape punishment. Ashton was executed; and he was the only man who suffered. Other plots and conspiracies followed; but the Revolution might be said to be completed in England, and under the favour of a benignant Providence, reposed on foundations not to be shaken. England, however, was only one, though the principal, and, as it were, central portion of the empire.

All conspiracies suppressed and defeated.
Revolution completed in England.

Two other kingdoms, Scotland and Ireland, were joined CHAP. IV.
with it in close confederacy to form the mighty whole.

Such, however, were, at this period, the terms of the ^{1689.} Question of
junction between the three, that on every revolving con- a union.
tingency the confederacy was in danger of falling asunder.
Each kingdom possessed a local parliament of its own,
entirely separate, and claiming to be absolutely indepen-
dent. Had this independence been as real, as it was
tenaciously maintained in words, not only in such an
extraordinary event as the *Revolution*, but in the case of
an ordinary war, England would have had no other means
of preserving the union necessary not only to its ascen-
dancy but to its actual safety, but the coercion of force,
the superiority of military strength. Suppose war
declared by the King of England, with the full concur-
rence and approbation of the English parliament. Either
the Scotch or Irish parliament might testify its dissent;
and, on the ground of its disapprobation, refuse concerting
any means for the defence of its respective portion of the
empire. It was not to be expected the enemy would
recognize the distinction, and forbear from any attack
either on Scotland or Ireland, because the local parliament
of the country had not concurred in the war. It is evi-
dent, from this short and impartial exposition, that the
union which formerly subsisted between the kingdoms
was incomplete and pregnant with the most flagrant
inconveniences. The *Revolution* was a case which exhi-
bits the inconveniences in the strongest point of view.
Notwithstanding the decisions and proceedings of the
English parliament, James was still, by the terms of the
constitution of the empire, *King of Scotland and Ireland*,
and might claim the allegiance of the subjects of those
kingdoms, until some means were found to satisfy or
entirely supersede the terms of the constitution and strict-
ness of law.

Scotland, annexed to England by geographical situation Scotland,
no less than by political ties, offered circumstances by
which the desired satisfaction would probably be attained.

CHAP. IV. Her population was thoroughly and almost universally Protestant, and there the profession of the Protestant religion had received a colour and complexion particularly hostile to the Catholic worship. It was animated with a large portion of a republican and fanatical spirit, and this was the religious profession of the multitude, or great body of the people. The spirit of the Scottish religion had showed itself early in the rebellion against Charles I. which from it received much of its first impulse, and throughout its whole progress some of its most inflammable matter. It was in Scotland that the *covenant* had been framed, and under it sunk episcopacy and many of the forms and institutions which supported monarchy itself. After the Restoration episcopacy had been re-established, but not in conformity with the sentiments, or in unison with the feelings of the people. It was therefore a sickly plant, ready to fall at the first storm that should arise. By the favour of the crown, decidedly and peremptorily exerted, the episcopal party had acquired dominion in parliament, but this dominion would pass away with the favour from which it originated, and by which alone it was supported. The episcopal party themselves, though abundantly zealous for the prerogatives and political authority of the crown, were possessed of so large a portion of the *Protestant* spirit as to regard the *religious* projects of James with much jealousy, and even resentment. His declaration of indulgence had been particularly obnoxious, as, besides its real but concealed design in favour of the Catholics, it held out protection to their detested enemies, the Presbyterians. The high favour enjoyed by the Earl of Melfort, a professed apostate from their religion, was likewise in the highest degree mortifying to them*.—So far did these sentiments prevail in the party, that Sir George Mackenzie, one of the most monarchical men among them, and who had been promoted to the place of King's advocate, corresponding to

1689.

* Lord Dundee to Lord Melfort.—*M'Pherson's State Papers.*

that of attorney-general, from his known zeal, approaching CHAP.IV.
to fanaticism, in support of prerogative, not only resigned
his employment on the appearance of the *declaration*, but 1689.
actually wrote a letter to the Prince of Orange, which
admits of no other construction but that of an emphatic
and spirited encouragement to the design he was known
to be meditating for the invasion of the British dominions.
The dread of the Presbyterians, had, however, so far
operated on this party, as to produce a sort of alliance
between them and their *Catholic* sovereign a little before
the arrival of the Prince. Sir George, who had himself
invited him, became one of the most zealous opponents of
the Revolution the Prince came to accomplish; and at the
time the English bishops refused to publish an abhorrence
of his design, the Scotch prelates, more docile to the
wishes of James, not only published the desired declaration,
but couched it in the language of fanatical zeal. They
prayed "that Providence might give the King the hearts of
his subjects and the necks of his enemies." If the bishops
and the greater number of their adherents stood in oppo-
sition to the Revolution, which, they foresaw, would go
much farther than the mere maintenance of the Protestant
religion, it found many friends and partisans amongst
the highest ranks in society, some of them of political
tenets nearly as obsequious as those of the bishops them-
selves. It is not certain, the Duke of Queensbury, who
had manifested such submission to James in every matter
where the Protestant religion was not concerned, was
hurried either by religious enthusiasm, or resentment at
his undeserved dismissal from all employment, to coun-
tenance the design; but the direct support it received from
his nearest and most intimate connections, is a circum-
stance of no slender suspicion against him. His son, Lord
Drumlanrig, repaired to London, as a convenient station
from which to communicate with the Prince of Orange;
and his brother, General Douglas, engaged himself to
seduce the affections of the Scotch army. Sir John
Dalrymple, who had accepted the place of king's advocate

Friends of
the Revolu-
tion in Scot-
land.

CHAP. IV. on the resignation of Sir George Mackenzie, and had
—
1689. thereby held himself out to the court as a devoted slave to
their views, became, however, a zealous agent for their
overthrow. The place, indeed, he had obtained, had been
taken away from him, and subsequently restored to Sir
George. He had, too, resentments of a more ancient
date to satisfy. Son of Lord Stair, he had seconded his
father in various machinations in which he had been
engaged against the court, and had borne his share in the
royal vengeance which they provoked. The father had
been ruined, and the son had lain many months in jail
under the government of James himself. The crisis of
the Revolution he deemed a fit opportunity to give scope
to his revenge, and in his bitter recollection of former
injuries, he forgot the subsequent favour he had enjoyed.
From no one did the Revolution derive more essential
assistance than from him. He was at once its active pro-
moter, its firm support, and brightest ornament. He is
celebrated in the accounts of the time, as possessing a
most commanding eloquence, set off and embellished by
a most beautiful and dignified personal appearance. The
Earl of Argyle, actuated by still more poignant filial feel-
ings, who had actually seen his father perish on a scaffold
from the measures of James, was eager to co-operate with
him in deliverance and revenge. The famous Fletcher
of Saltown, who had borne arms in the enterprise of the
Duke of Monmouth, was impelled, as well by his native
courage and ardour as by his Roman passion for the
cause of liberty. He was serving as a volunteer against
the Turks in Hungary; but no sooner did the glorious
news of approaching deliverance reach him, than he
hastened to throw his sword into the scale.

However active and able these champions of the Revo-
lution were, and however well-disposed the multitude to
follow any impulse which they should receive on the same
side, yet might the kingdom of Scotland have been
secured to James, for some time, at least, after the defec-
tion of England, had not his own imprudence prepared

the way for the triumph of his enemies. His army in CHAP.IV.
Scotland was inconsiderable in number, but preserved its
loyalty to the last, and was extremely well posted and dis- 1689.
tributed for his service*. It had been proposed by some
of his Scotch council, to augment their number, and with
the junction of some Highland chiefs, who had been per-
suaded to descend with their clans from their mountains to
the support of his authority, to form an encampment on
the borders of Scotland or the north of England, where
they would have been able to awe and keep down the dis-
affected in both countries. But the Earl of Melfort per-
suaded his ill-judging master to withdraw the whole force
stationed in Scotland and the north of England to the
southern parts of the island, where their spirit and loyalty
were wholly inefficient for his service.

The Presbyterians, and all who were impatient to shake
off the yoke of his government, crowded to the capital,
where there were no troops to oppose them, and taking
advantage of this defenceless condition, formed themselves
publicly into clubs for the promotion of their designs,
which they carried on without any control, and scarcely
any disguise. By spreading false or exaggerated reports,
and the other popular devices usual on such occasions,
they stirred up the populace to rise in arms and supersede
the remains of government which represented the autho-
rity of James. They, for this express purpose, encouraged
and fomented the disorders and excesses of the multitude.
Some circumstances narrated, present a remarkable coin-
cidence with what occurred a few years ago in a neigh-
bouring country, and seem like an anticipation of the
scenes of the 10th of August. The populace, under the
direction of their leaders, gathered round the royal palace,
declaring by their shouts their intention of demolishing
the Catholic chapel, which composed a part of it. A few
soldiers who had lingered after the departure of the army

* An Account of the Affairs of Scotland, &c. by Lord Balcarras.—*Lord Somers's Tracts.*

CHAP. IV. to England, were drawn out against them.—Some shots
 — fired soon dispersed the cowardly assemblage, who fled in
 1689. all directions. Observing themselves not pursued, their

courage revived, and, joined by fresh multitudes, they returned to the attack. The handful of soldiers, deserted by their commander, beheld no prospect of safety but in laying down their arms and begging for quarter. “The rabble, when they saw all hazard over, ran in upon them, killed some, and made the rest prisoners, and sent them to prison, where several died for want and of their wounds*.” All resistance being overcome, the populace spread themselves on every side, demolished the chapel and a house where some Jesuits resided, plundered the cellars of the nobility who were obnoxious to them, and adding the intoxication of liquor to the fervour of zeal, attacked the persons and habitations of the few Catholics who were in the town, “and used some Catholic ladies villainously.”

The instigators of these tumults had sagaciously calculated their effect. Lord Chancellor Perth, and many other members of King James’s government were frightened away, and in this general flight and abandonment, Sir John Dalrymple, whom James had left in his council after the injury he had inflicted upon him of depriving him of the place of king’s advocate, ventured to propose in council, an address of thanks to the Prince of Orange for freeing them from Popery and tyranny, accompanied by a general offer of their services. Sir George Mackenzie, however, who had remained at his post, was able to counteract the effect of his eloquence, and supported by some of the bishops, to overrule the proposition.

Before these transactions in the Scotch capital, many of the friends and partisans of the Prince of Orange had repaired to London.—They were found to consist of thirty peers and eighty distinguished commoners. These assembled soon after the arrival of the Prince, and from them proceeded those preliminary measures which were

* Lord Balcarras.—*Ib.*

necessary to extend the government of the Revolution CHAP.IV.
to Scotland. They withdrew to Whitehall, and chusing
the Duke of Hamilton for their president, voted an address 1689.
to the Prince, requesting him to assume the exercise of
the Scotch government till the meeting of a convention,
which was fixed for the 16th. The only one in the
assembly who ventured to oppose this address, was the
son of the man who had been chosen to preside in it.
This, we are told, was not uncommon in great Scotch
families, for the father and son to espouse different sides,
and thus secure the family estates and honours whichever
party prevailed.

By the proceedings in Edinburgh, the city was in the
power of the adherents of the Revolution, so that the con-
vention met on the 16th, as had been appointed, without
opposition or hindrance.

Before the meeting of the convention, Sir George
Mackenzie bethought himself of a singular expedient to
save his unfortunate master. With the same hand with
which he had written a letter of invitation to the Prince of
Orange, he drew up a formal memorial addressed to King
William, that having now provided adequate securities for
the Protestant religion, he had fulfilled the object of his
mission, and that nothing remained for him but to with-
draw himself and his troops. It is scarcely conceivable,
that a man of Sir George's accomplishments, so richly
endowed with polite literature, should, for a moment
have admitted the possibility of his memorial's been suc-
cessful. Yet it is certain many distinguished Tories and
high Churchmen of considerable abilities, blinded them-
selves in this manner, and concurred in the invasion of the
Prince without any conception that it would be attended
with further consequence than securing the Protestant
religion, so near and dear to their hearts. Perhaps the
sole motive of Mackenzie was to account and establish
some excuse for the letter he had formerly written, and of
which he now repented.

The convention was opened with the reading of two Scotch
Convention.

CHAP. IV. letters, one from the late King, and the other from the
——— King on the English throne. James thought proper,
1689. before he finally sailed from the French shores, to address
the convention that was to decide upon his title, in a
letter which must have flowed from his heart, as it breathed
in every line the unconquerable bigotry and fanaticism
which so eminently characterised him. It fulminated
threats of eternal damnation on the Scotch people, and,
countersigned by Lord Melfort, recalled a name so odious
to the whole Protestant party, and established the cer-
tainty, that his councils were guided by advisers as fana-
tical as himself. The discerning statesmen who predomi-
nated in the convention, and came there with a determi-
nation to follow the example of England, took care *not* to
oppose the reading of this letter. They had, on the con-
trary, given it every facility to reach its destination. It
must have convinced every Protestant in the assembly,
however devoted to the notions of hereditary right, that a
bigotted support of these notions involved the surrender of
his religion, as no compromise with the Catholic zeal of
James was at all possible.—It no doubt assisted the claims
of the Prince of Orange.

The large majority were sufficiently disposed in favour
of those claims. The factitious prevalence of the epis-
copal and prerogative party was no more. Wherever the
multitude had an influence, the Presbyterian interest was
paramount. Sir John Dalrymple, who, to the showy
accomplishments which have been mentioned, joined much
political sagacity and contrivance, had, by an ingenious
expedient, secured the returns of most of the burghs to
his party. Those who might have given them opposition
or interposed impediments in their way, either wholly
absented themselves, or for the greater part, quitted the
assembly at an early period. The partisans of the Revo-
lution would soon, therefore, have arrived at the ultimate
decision, if some delay had not arisen from the separate
views and objects among themselves. Sir John Dalrym-
ple, and his father Lord Stair, had conceived a plan of

engrafting on the Revolution settlement a legislative CHAP.IV.
union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. 1689.
Their large and expansive minds seem to have opened themselves to a distant view of the large measure of prosperity of every kind which was to flow to both nations from this event. But the public sense of Scotland was not yet prepared for it. Time had not yet matured the means which were to accomplish it. The idle plume of what was called an independent parliament, amused and flattered the great and little vulgar. The majority of those who were zealous for the placing of the Scotch crown on the head of William, by no means regarded the scheme of Dalrymple and Lord Stair with equal favour; and these dissensions might have proved fatal to the very scheme of the transfer of the crown. Already some secret adherents of the exiled King, who were found scattered in the ranks of the assembly, began to perceive the advantage they might derive from delay. They had opened themselves to the very reasonable persuasion that "there was nothing so much for his interest as the gaining of time." They had come to the resolution of writing private instructions to all their associates in the kingdom to repair without delay to the assembly, and assist in the discussion of the proposed treaty of union, representing that "several months would be spent before any such treaty could be ended*." But the statesmen who were capable of embracing such extensive views, were not at the same time destitute of the requisite prudence and self command. They were too wise to think of sacrificing to any scheme, however pleasing to their own imaginations, or approved of by their own judgments, the measure of present exigency and convenience. They no longer mentioned the subject of a union, and the resolution was proposed that King James had by his misconduct *forfaulted* his right to the crown. Forfault was a Scotch law phrase answering to the English word *forfeit*. This was coming

* Lord Balcarras.—*Ib.*

CHAP. IV. at once to the point, and doing that in broad daylight
 1689. which the English parliament was content to effect indirectly, and by obscure and circuitous paths. The caution and obscurity of the English proceedings have been explained. The views and principles of different parties were to be blended by mutual concessions, and a system of nice and elaborate compromise to be wrought out; whereas in the Scotch convention no concession or compromise was necessary. *One* party, the Presbyterian and Whig party, had an uncontrolled prevalence, and dictated the decision. Their resolution, from the very circumstance of its being couched in bolder and more explicit language, was not so well calculated for future peace and settlement. It might have been abused to the purposes of rash and fanatical innovators, but it is now in some measure lost and forgotten by the extinction of the local parliament, from which it emanated. The resolution of the English parliament can alone furnish commentaries on the *Revolution*, and from it no dangerous tenet can be extracted. Its logical defects compose its political excellence. A declaration of rights applicable to the circumstances of Scotland accompanied the transfer of the crown. Many of the rights declared related to the frame and constitution of the Scotch parliament, and can excite no interest now that the parliament itself is no more. Before the convention separated they ventured upon a measure more decisive, and of more permanent effect.

Episcopacy abolished. Episcopacy had been abolished in Scotland about the middle of the century, even before the opposition to Charles I. had arrived at declared rebellion, and the King, however reluctantly, had lent the sanction of his name to the measure; so much did he regard it as the decided wish of the majority of the nation. It had been re-established with the triumph of the Restoration, but the nation continued no less adverse to it. The nation, and more particularly the men who had given the crown to William, were to be gratified, by the Presbyterian scheme of disci-

pline and worship to which they were enthusiastically attached. William, after ascending the throne, was disposed to the opinion which seems natural to kings, and which regards the episcopal order as no less the support than the ornament of a monarchy. However, he had been opposed by the bishops and their adherents in Scotland, to the acquiescence at least, if not to the positive friendship of the episcopal party in England, he felt himself in a great measure indebted for his elevation, and he was sensible how much the whole of this party would be affronted, and revolted by the abolition of the order in one division of the island. He accordingly entered into a negociation with the Scotch Episcopalians, and promised "to do all he could to preserve the bishops," on condition they concurred in the Revolution settlement, and made no opposition to the entire toleration of the Presbyterians composing the body of the nation*. But neither of these conditions would they comply with. The greater part of the bishops absented themselves from the convention, thinking *that* the best way of defeating the settlement. The Archbishop of Glasgow, almost the only one of them who attended to the last, vehemently opposed it in the whole of its progress. No persuasion or prospect of danger could obtain from them a promise of toleration. Toleration was a word which their lips refused to repeat, as the *thing* itself was most repugnant to their hearts. They knew better how to suffer persecution themselves than to abstain from persecuting others. William was obliged to leave them to their fate. Episcopacy was deprived of its establishment, and the Presbyterian succeeded as the national, recognized religion of Scotland. It long preserved a harsh, austere character, unfriendly to the refinements and elegancies of human life; but this has gradually been softened and mellowed. Literary speculation and discussion have taken place of narrow, religious bigotry, and though these perhaps have expatiated in some

CHAP. IV.

1689.

* Burnet,

CHAP. IV. walks with rather too much boldness, yet, upon the whole,
 1689. a more correct and balanced national character no where displays itself than in Scotland. Freedom, and a zeal for popular rights, are limited and restrained by a just regard for authority, and a due sense of the advantages resulting from order and obedience. The veins of the British empire are replenished and warmed with Scottish blood. This blood runs out in the valour of its armies, the eloquence and wisdom of its magistrates, the deep thinking of its philosophers, and the various performances of its different men of letters. In every department of human skill and talent the united nation may confidently contend with any of the tribes which compose the great European assemblage.

The convention having declared the crown *forfaulted* or *forfeited*, without pause or hesitation placed it on the head of the deliverer William, joining with him in title his consort, as had been done in England. The Duke of Queensberry, the Marquis of Athol, and some others who had absented themselves on the question of forfeiture, hastened to express their concurrence with the second vote, handsomely saying, that the throne having been declared vacant (though without their approbation) they knew none so worthy to fill it as the Prince and Princess of Orange. There was no absolute inconsistency in this conduct. The argument on which they justified themselves was plausible, if not unattackable; yet the ready acquiescence of the Duke in particular leads to the presumption that he was not a stranger to the correspondence carried on in the bosom of his family, and the exertions of his son and brother in favour of the Revolution, though Lord Balcarras, an approved and avowed adherent of James, is satisfied that until that monarch had given up the government by his flight from the kingdom, he was steady and faithful to him*. Three deputies chosen from the

* Account, &c. quoted before.

three several estates composing the convention were dispatched to London, with the tender of the crown, the Earl of Argyle from the peers, Sir James Montgomery from the knights, and Sir John Dalrymple from the burgesses. The new coronation oath contained a promise on the part of the King "to root out heretics." In the ceremony of administering the oath, the King repeated the words as they were read to him. The liberal and tolerant William was startled by the phrase of "rooting out heretics." He stopped the Earl of Argyle when he came to these words, and said, with a good deal of earnestness, he did not mean to become a persecutor. The Scotch commissioners assuring him, such was not the meaning of the engagement, "then," said the King, "in that sense I take it, and in that sense only ;"—a spirit of religious benevolence which afforded an advantageous contrast with the character and conduct of his predecessor, and ought to shame those who have the audacity to persecute under his revered name.

The decision of the convention parliament satisfied the terms of the constitution, as far as the case admitted of satisfaction. Any resistance from that period would be stigmatised as *rebellion*. This, however, did not deter Lord Viscount Dundee, the same who has been noticed as in attendance upon James at Rochester, and addressing to the pusillanimous monarch such vehement and high-spirited exhortations to remain and abide the contest in this kingdom.

Captain Graham, created by James, Lord Viscount Dundee, whose exploits were long the theme of admiring celebration to the Jacobite party, had, early in life, served abroad with reputation. Stung at the refusal of the Prince of Orange to give him the command of one of the Scotch regiments in the Dutch service, he abruptly quitted the army abroad, and soon found employment at home, from which neither his moral nor military character derives much lustre. The violence of the government in the latter years of Charles II. having driven the religious

CHAP. IV.

1689.

Lord Dundee.

CHAP. IV. fanatics into resistance, and what was termed rebellion,
1689. the occasion was taken of a conventicle assembled upon Loudon Hill to attack them. Graham was chosen for this sanguinary, and as it should seem, easy service. Yet had he the mortification, though at the head of regular forces, to find himself repulsed and defeated with considerable loss by a confused, ill-armed rabble. The Duke of Monmouth was sent down to repair this disaster, which did not certainly announce Graham's future military greatness. The Duke succeeded where he had failed. The insurgents were routed and dispersed at Bothwell Bridge, and no further obstacle interposed to the cruelty and persecutions of the government. In these persecutions Captain Graham took a very active share, as if resolved to *redeem* the loss of his reputation in arms by the vehemence of his *civil* tyranny. James, at his accession, rewarded him with a peerage and high military employment.

After the departure of the King, notwithstanding his encouragements and exhortations, he did not resolve to abandon a character so different from his own, and leave the timid monarch to his fate, but, remembering the benefits he had received from him, with a spirit of chivalrous gratitude which does him honour, meditated the retrieving of his fallen fortunes with his sword, or shedding his blood in the cause. The precise line of conduct which he, however, at the moment adopted is uncertain. According to some relations, on William's asking him to enter into his service, he peremptorily and even arrogantly refused. Burnet's account is the following — "He employed me to carry messages from him to the King, to know what securities he might expect, if he should go and live in Scotland without owning his government. The King said, if he would live peaceably, and at home he would protect him. To this he answered, that unless he were forced to it, he would live quietly." It results from this relation that Dundee simulated a peaceable disposition at a time when he had fixed a correspondence with the French court, and was pressing James to effect

an armed landing either in Scotland or the north of England. Burnet speaks of a transaction to which, he says, he was personally privy, and therefore his personal veracity is pledged to the truth of it; but Burnet had a singular facility of bringing up retrospects and recollections in exact conformity with his political views and passions; and his political views and passions were of so ardent a nature, and his attachment to King William so frank and enthusiastic, that where he was speaking of one who had signalled himself in opposition to his favourite sovereign, his narrative would easily run into circumstances which an unpolite partisan of James might stigmatize with a very harsh monosyllable in our language. Certain it is, however, that Dundee was allowed to repair to his native country, and this may be thought to corroborate the account of Burnet. He attended the convention, but attended it merely with the views of a soldier intent not on civil deliberation, but burning for a contest by arms, and the effusion of blood.

When the multitude had put the city in the hands of the partisans of William and the Revolution, the castle, a fortress commanding the city, remained in the possession of the governor, the Duke of Gordon, a nobleman of the Catholic persuasion, whom James had distinguished with particular favour, less on account of his rank and political influence, than from the complexion of his religious tenets. While Dundee remained with the convention, he omitted no mode of application, or stratagem of intrigue, to prevail on the Duke to direct the artillery of the castle on the city, and, amidst conflagration and blood, disperse the assembly that had the audacity to deliberate on the title of his master. Ladies of high rank, such as the Countess of Errol, were instructed by him to address the charms of female persuasion to the governor. He ventured himself to go in disguise, and hold a personal conference, notwithstanding the redoubled guards which the convention had placed, at every avenue, to the castle, to cut off all communication from without. His generous courage, boiling

CHAP-IV. for contest and arms, discouraged the attendance of his party at the convention, and thereby bereaved his master of the effect which protracted discussions and debates on the union, and other collateral questions, might have had for his service. According to the suggestions of his sanguine temper and disposition, he announced the speedy and victorious return of James, who would regard, with little favour, any who had participated in the deliberations of so illegal an assemblage. It was a good deal owing to his persuasions, that the bishops forewent the opportunity held out to them, of securing the favour of King William, and with it, perhaps, their establishment in the state.

1689.

The partisans of James had formed a project of setting up a counter-convention at Stirling. Nothing could be imagined better calculated to defeat the Revolution, and confirm the crown on the head of this degraded sovereign. Providence, however, directed Dundee to crush it in its infancy, by hurrying matters to a sudden explosion.

Tired of debates and discussions, for which he had little relish, and in which his friends were constantly baffled and discomfited, by the superior address and vigour of Sir John Dalrymple and his associates, he abruptly quitted the convention, and rushed out of the town, at the head of fifty horsemen, who had deserted to him from his regiment in England. He declared his resolution to follow wherever the spirit of the gallant Montrose led him, and emulate his immortal fame, by a course of similar achievements. Passing by the castle, on his way out of the town, he perceived the Duke of Gordon on the western rampart. Beckoning to him, he scrambled up a precipice, and, in sight of multitudes, with impassioned eloquence and vehement gestures, renewed his intreaties and expostulations. The place of the conference is still shown, where the Duke came out to him at a postern gate, though the gate itself is said to be built up. The convention was sitting at the time. The busy whisper of the crowd, whom the scene had drawn together, swelled into a report, that Dundee, at the head of an hostile army, was concerting measures

with the governor of the castle, to set fire to the city. CHAP. IV.
Sir John Dalrymple, with his characteristic vigilance and foresight, had provided against any enterprise which might be attempted. By his directions, numbers from the western counties had been introduced into the city, and, to increase the effect by their sudden and unexpected appearance, kept concealed in garrets and cellars, ready at a call. The Duke of Hamilton, president of the convention, was nowise dismayed at the intelligence which reached it, in which he probably discovered the characters of popular exaggeration. Perhaps he assumed on the occasion an air of greater resolution than he inwardly felt. He ordered the doors to be locked, and the keys to be laid on the table before him. He called, with a loud voice, to the friends of liberty, not to be terrified, for that thousands would start up at the stamp of his foot. The business was managed with theatrical effect. At a signal given, drums were beat and trumpets sounded, through the streets. Thousands of sullen, ill-looking rustics, issued from their concealment. Just as the crowd was the thickest, and the buzz of curiosity the busiest, the doors of the convention were thrown open;—the friends of William were saluted with acclamations, and threats and curses poured out on their adversaries. These last, who had sat with beating hearts during the whole period that the doors remained locked, as soon as they were delivered from their painful confinement, hastened to escape to their several homes, and left the cause of the Revolution enjoying a complete and uncontrolled triumph in the capital.

From Edinburgh, Dundee directed his progress north-wards to Inverness, and summoned the Highlanders to join his standard. Dundee's exploits.

I have never met with a satisfactory explanation of the enthusiastic attachment of the Highlanders to the cause of James and his descendants, which lingered among their bleak mountains, when it was no more in any other part of the empire, which raised them to battle so late as the middle of the last century, and which is perhaps, still

CHAP. IV. ———— nourished with hereditary fondness in the breasts of some individuals scattered throughout those regions. I do not
1689. find the Catholic religion prevailed, to any extent, among them, and this alone would have reconciled the sentiment to common sense, as it certainly would have accounted for it. It should seem the Highlanders were, at this time, little actuated by feelings of a public or national character. They were distributed into clans and petty dynasties, almost independent of the sovereign of the country, and regarded more the determinations of their local chieftains, than any political cause or mode of government common to the whole kingdom. Many of the chieftains, at the period of the Revolution, had, from various, for the most part accidental circumstances, espoused the party of James. Others were persuaded not to give it any opposition, such as Lords Athol, Tarbet, and Breadalbane. The clans were thus engaged to fight for the Stuart family; and, what in its origin was merely the inclination of the chiefs, ripened into habit, and swelled into enthusiasm, in their dependants. They heard and repeated the inviolable sanctity of hereditary right, and proclaimed, with exultation, their attachment to the heir of their ancient monarchs. There is, however, an anecdote related, which appears contrary to this explanation, and would point out the attachment of the Highlanders, as wholly independent of, and in one instance at least, acting in hostility, to the inclinations of the chief. Lord Murray, son to Lord Athol, who possessed one of the most considerable estates in the Highlands, had assembled a thousand men, composed of his father's tenants, and those of his brother-in-law, Lord Lovat. He intended them for the service of King William, but he observed their attachment to James so strong, that he found it necessary to conceal his intention. However, when the men discovered the real purpose for which they were enlisted, they broke, in a body, from their ranks while he was in the act of reviewing them, and, running to a neighbouring brook, filled their bonnets with water, and drank King James's health. They had previously

apprised him, that if he would join Dundee, they would, CHAP.IV.
with alacrity, follow him; but, if he was marching against
him, they must all quit him. Here was enthusiasm already
formed, not waiting for the impulse of the chief, but, on
the contrary, moving in direct rebellion to his wishes.
Such is the first conclusion from this anecdote; yet it has
been explained in a manner consistent with the foregoing
solution of the problem. The behaviour of the High-
landers, on this occasion, was, it is said, an exception to
the rule of action usually observed by the Highland vassals,
produced by the management and intrigues of Simon Fra-
zer, then only a younger member of the Lovat family, but
who had sufficient influence with his family clan, to induce
them to revolt against their chieftain. This was the same
Simon Frazer, who, many years after, as Lord Lovat, ex-
piated a life of signal profligacy and treachery, on the
scaffold. I leave this subject without further comment.
Perhaps, what is a matter of perplexity to me, at the dis-
tance in which I am from local information, presents no
difficulty to persons on the spot.

Not only did many of the Highland chiefs, who, if Pres-
byterians at all, were probably not deeply imbued with
the fanaticism of the sect, assist Dundee; but some of
the leading members themselves, who had irretrievably
pledged themselves to the cause of the Revolution, were
induced secretly to favour his enterprise, though in the
highest degree adverse to all they had accomplished. In
this conduct they exhibited a signal instance of blindness
of understanding, produced by the meanest motives of
private ambition and corruption. They knew, or ought
to have known, no return of duty or course of services
could reconcile them to James and his advisers, who hated
them for what they had acted, and still more for the oppo-
sition to their Catholic views, which resulted from the
genius of their religion. The cunning and hypocrisy of
these advisers were not proof against their virulent bigotry.
Their hatred broke out at the time they compelled them-

CHAP. IV. selves to listen to their overtures, and they were marked
 1689. out as objects of future vengeance, while ambiguous promises, capable of double constructions, were held out to them. This course of policy, the characteristic of narrow minds and muddy understandings, is distinctly marked in several papers from the pen of Lord Melfort. In a memorial he drew up on Scotch affairs, he says, "Who gains time, gains life; and, therefore, the King should show them all the kindness, all the trust, all the confidence, in the world; write affectionately to them, seem to grant even more than he intends to perform*," &c. Lord Dundee, with the spirit of a soldier, disdained this clumsy hypocrisy. He never could prevail upon himself to speak with patience of the Presbyterians, even when they appeared willing to co-operate with him. His usual language is, "those ungrate beasts, the Presbyterians†."

Yet, notwithstanding these marks of confirmed dislike, or rather of inveterate aversion, which could not fail of betraying themselves in all the communications of James and his party with them, as it was impossible for King William to gratify them in all the extravagant expectations of power and emolument which they had conceived from his elevation, they were so hurried by resentment at his supposed deficiency in gratitude, as to exert themselves in every way, for the return of the bigotted and irritated monarch. They carried on a continued correspondence with Dundee, during the whole of his operations.

James, who was arrived in Ireland, sent orders to Dundee, not to venture on an engagement till he was joined by reinforcements from that kingdom, which, he was assured, would shortly set sail for Scotland. Dundee busied himself with preparations to receive them, negotiating for that purpose with the chieftains in the islands, and along the western coast. The convention, and the Revolution party, on the other hand, apprised of these preparations and promises of assistance from the opposite shores, sent

* M'Pherson's State Papers.

† Ib.

abundance of arms and ammunition to the Protestants in the north of Ireland, which might keep James sufficiently employed, and deprive him of the power of detaching any part of his army to the assistance of Dundee. In order to intercept the shipping that would be necessary for its transportation, they laid an embargo along the whole extent of the western coast. They erected beacons on the high grounds, which commanded the sea, between the two islands. They ordered the sheriffs, in the maritime counties, to seize on persons bearing arms without authority. To awe the disaffected in the capital, and put a stop to their traitorous correspondences, they armed the president of the convention with the comprehensive power of securing all suspected persons. Different intercepted letters, from the ministers and advisers of James, animated their activity, and gave a fresh impulse to their vigilance. In a letter from Lord Melfort, addressed to Dundee, were found these words:—"You will ask, no doubt, how we shall be able to pay our enemies? but can you ask such a question, while our enemies, the rebels, have estates to be forfeited? We will begin with the great, and end with the small, ones." In another, to Lord Balcarras, the same nobleman wrote, "The estates of the rebels will recompense us. You know there were several lords whom we marked out, when you and I were together, who deserved no better fates: these will serve as examples to others." Duke Hamilton, conceiving himself one of the lords thus marked out, exclaimed, "You hear, you hear, my lords and gentlemen, our sentence pronounced. We must defend ourselves, or die!"

Dundee remained confined among the Highland mountains the whole of the spring, and the early part of the summer, in anxious and daily expectation of the succours of all kinds he had been promised from Ireland. The succours, however, did not arrive as he expected. Several English frigates hovered on the coast, and intercepted supplies destined for him. The consequence was, he was sorely pinched for want of provisions, having no money to

CHAP. IV. purchase any; and the predatory habits of his men, consuming, or conveying to a distance, whatever they acquired in the way of plunder. It was usual for them, whenever the fortune of war put any considerable booty into their hands, to send it away in parcels to their several homes, whither they never failed to follow shortly after. Dundee's force was, by this means, in danger of falling away every moment, by the continued desertion of whole troops. The want of ammunition he did not feel so severely, from the peculiar mode of fighting practised by the Highlanders at that period. When they saw a body of cavalry approaching, they immediately took to flight, and ran, perhaps, the space of a mile, till they had reached the foot of some hill, on which they could support themselves. Here they faced about, and drew up into a line. They made a single discharge of their pieces, and, throwing them aside, fell on the enemy with their broad-swords.

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Dundee, at length, being joined by about five hundred raw recruits from Ireland, who found means to elude the vigilance of the frigates, and having collected a body of nearly six thousand men, from the natives of the mountains, he resolved to endure his confinement no longer, notwithstanding the orders he had received. The want of provisions had risen to such a pitch in his army, that there were gentlemen who had not seen, for several weeks, bread or salt, or tasted any drink but water. It became absolutely necessary for him, at all hazards, to sally forth, though the want of cavalry would put him under great disadvantage in presence of an enemy.

On the intelligence of his arming, General Mackay had been sent to oppose him. It was Mackay's plan to cut off his communication with the south-west Highlanders, who were, in general, favourable to him, and the line of coast opposite Ireland. For this purpose he advanced to lay siege to Blair Athol. Dundee, aware of the object of his movement, resolved to prevent it by a battle. He arrived at Blair Athol on the 16th of July, and next morning proceeded to meet the enemy. Mackay

had lain that night at Dunkeld. Between Dunkeld and CHAP.IV.
Blair Athol is the pass of Killikranky, so narrow as not to
admit of above seven or eight men abreast, bounded by 1689.
high mountains on the right, and a precipice hanging over
a river on the left. It is about two miles in length.
Dundee was advised by some of his officers to defend this
pass. He chose, however, to allow Mackay to clear it.
When the latter had arrived beyond the pass, which was
about the middle of the day on the 17th, he saw Dundee's
army resting on the side of a mountain, and drawn up in
one short thick line. Desertions had considerably thinned
his ranks, and his force was not much more than one-half of
Mackay's. Mackay had two troops of horse, which gave
him a considerable advantage, besides four thousand five
hundred men of regular infantry. But the inequality of
numbers had no effect in changing the resolution of
Dundee. He, however, determined to wait till near sun-
set. The armies stood gazing at each other, when, at the
appointed hour, the Highlanders were observed forming
into columns, and immediately after descending from the
mountains—Dundee was seen in the front of the battle
animating his men. One of his topics of exhortation is
remarkable:—He told them they were going to fight for
the Protestant religion. The concluding words of his
speech were,—“Let this be your word, King James and
the Church of Scotland, which God long preserve.” Yet
he knew well that nothing could prevail on King James
to make any promise of support to this church which he
coupled with his name. All his entreaties to this purpose
had been ineffectual. In his pocket, after his death, was
found a letter from Lord Melfort, in which the secretary,
worthy of his fanatical master, referring to a proposition
of Dundee for an act of parliament to secure the Church
of Scotland, frankly avowed, his master would consent to
no such act, “as first, that act for settling the Protestant
religion may be such, as in conscience, the King cannot
consent to.”

Dundee rushed to the attack. Mackay's army was

CHAP. IV. completely pierced through, and fled in confusion to the pass behind them. Dundee, who during the whole attack

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had displayed the most impetuous valour, was hurried along considerably before the torrent of his men, to intercept the retreat of the flying enemy. Here, while exerting himself on all sides, he received a wound of which he died next morning. We have the letter of the dying hero written to his unworthy master after he had received his mortal wound. He makes honourable mention of the few Irish auxiliaries in his troop, who, he says, "behaved themselves with equal gallantry to whatever he had seen in the hottest battles fought abroad by disciplined armies." He presses for "such another detachment of James's Irish forces," and concludes, "However, Sir, I beseech your Majesty to believe, whether I live or die, I am entirely yours." Thus expired valour and gallantry of spirit worthy of a better cause, and which ought to have been exerted in the service of a master better qualified to discern and feel their value.

Mackay had two thousand men killed, and five hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the victorious Highlanders, who would have cut off and destroyed the whole force had they not been diverted from the pursuit, and, after their usual custom, betaken themselves to plundering. Mackay himself, with two hundred men that were carried with him in the flight, did not deem himself secure till he had reached Stirling.—"They ran for it," says Burnet, with more honesty than usually accompanies his narratives of the conduct of his own side. Some of the fugitives did not stop till they had got to Edinburgh, spreading consternation as they went among the friends of the Revolution, representing every thing as lost. The alarm somewhat subsided, when men whom they had reported killed made their appearance.

During the progress of these transactions, the Duke of Gordon surrendered the castle of Edinburgh. The war in the Highlands expired with the life of Dundee. The victorious army, no longer supported by his name and

activity, gradually melted away. Some returned to their homes, others sought refuge on the Continent, where they were soon neglected. The party of James was, for the present, extinguished in Scotland. Still, however, one division of the empire held out for him, and the glorious Revolution was not consummated. CHAP. IV.

The circumstances of Ireland were very different from those of Scotland. In Scotland, the Protestant religion, soon after its first promulgation, had been embraced with zeal and eagerness by the multitude, who professed it in the form most adverse to the Catholic. When carried over from England, the body of the Irish population had vehemently rejected it, and the lapse of time had produced no abatement in the fondness and attachment with which they clung to the ancient faith. Coming from England, the reformed worship was considered as part of the English domination, and regarded with the bitterest antipathy by all to whom the English government was odious. On these principles, what might be deemed the English party in Ireland, all the native English, and those among the Irish, who, from different motives adhered to them, became early converts to its doctrines, and from that period laboured to support and promote them less with theological than political zeal. The expulsion of James from England, professedly on account of his religious opinions, became a fresh claim on the attachment of the Irish population; and an imperative call upon them to support him with all the means in their power, and by the necessary result of the division of the country, united the whole English party in all its branches against him. Such was the state of Ireland at the period to which the narrative has brought us, and such the parties for and against the Revolution. Ireland.

The whole government of Ireland had been in the hands of the English party, who had succeeded in obtaining the entire management of the parliament, not indeed by a positive law of exclusion against their adversaries, but by a measure deemed by them of equal force and efficacy.

CHAP. IV. In the parliament which sat in the early part of the reign
 1689. of Charles II., the Commons, at its very opening, passed a resolution, that no member should be qualified to sit in their House who had not taken the oaths of allegiance and *supremacy*, and the speaker of the House of Peers, (Bramhall, Archbishop of Armagh,) proposed a resolution which passed their House, "that all the members thereof should receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from his Grace's own hands*." These resolutions, which effectually excluded the Catholics from both Houses of Parliament, would not have passed if the majority of the members had not already been Protestants. The Catholics had every where sunk under the discountenance, if not the absolute persecution of the domineering English party. The sheriffs of counties were universally Protestants. By the effect of confiscations and mutations of property, there were scarcely any freeholders in the kingdom that were not of that persuasion. In the reign of James I. forty new boroughs had been erected, and all the old ones new modelled, with a view of filling the House of Commons with Protestant members. The more effectually to secure this purpose, by a subsequent regulation it had been provided, that none should act as portreeves, mayors, magistrates, or sheriffs, in the chief towns or boroughs, till approved by the lord lieutenant or deputy†.

This state of things accounted for the resolution passed in this parliament of Charles II. This Parliament was soon dissolved, and no other suffered to meet till measures and arrangements systematically carried on had produced their full effect in displacing the Protestant interest and seating the Catholic in its stead. The whole reign of James had been employed in the prosecution of these measures and arrangements; and it has been seen, that in the judgment of Lord Tyrconnell, they had arrived at their maturity. Tyrconnell had proposed, some time before the expulsion of his master, that a parliament should be con-

* Plowden's Hist.

† King's State of the Protestants in Ireland.

vened in Ireland, confident that enough had been done CHAP.IV.
during the long interval since a parliament had sat before,

to destroy its Protestant constitution and secure its subser- 1689.
viency to his Catholic views. He had made use of his discretion, as lord lieutenant, to fill all the boroughs and corporate towns, returning members, with Catholic magistrates and officers. Where the agency of these magistrates and officers proved ineffectual, and any of the corporations continued refractory, their charters were, under different devices, taken away from them, and new ones, suited to the object of the framers of them, substituted in their stead.

Notwithstanding the general nomination of Catholics for sheriffs while Chancellor Fitton held the great seal, yet so great was the poverty and distress of the great body of that religion, from forfeitures and the operation of other causes, that it was difficult to procure from among them such a number of persons who could venture to appear as freeholders as to support the form of an election. But, with the supreme power in his hands, Tyrconnell would find means to evade or overcome the difficulty. It is evident, from a view of Ireland, at the time of James's dethronement in England, that a parliament that should have sat there, and been called upon to deliberate upon the question, would have indignantly and acrimoniously, under the auspices and by the impulse of Tyrconnell, rejected the measure, and confirmed the crown on the head of the sovereign, who must have risen in favour with the Irish multitude by those very proceedings and circumstances of conduct which had alienated the English people.

Tyrconnell, who, by his situation of lord lieutenant, must have been the prime mover of this parliament, betrayed, at the period of the Revolution in England, considerable symptoms of irresolution and hesitation. He fell suddenly from his former arrogance and haughtiness of proceedings towards the Protestants. He sent messages to them of the most soothing nature; he made overtures, and threw out various intimations, that if a way

CHAP. IV. was pointed out to him by which his honour might be saved, he would submit without a contest to the ascendancy of the Protestant cause, and deliver over the kingdom to the English government. King William, whose whole life had been spent on the Continent, and whose mind was engrossed with continental affairs, caught eagerly at intimations which opened a prospect of bringing Ireland to his dominion without the necessity of an expensive course of warfare, which must divert him from all his continental projects. There was a son of his accomplished favourite, Sir William Temple, just come into public life. He had formed an acquaintance with Richard Hamilton, a zealous Catholic, and a general in Tyrconnell's army, who had been sent over to England on the first intelligence of the invasion, and was at this time a prisoner in the power of the English government. Hamilton, anxious to obtain his freedom, and return to his country where he meditated rendering good service to the master of his zeal and affections, James, wrought on the enthusiastic, sanguine mind of the youthful Temple, and succeeded in persuading him that if he was allowed to go over to Tyrconnell, he would by his influence confirm and fix his disposition to submission. At Temple's suggestion, Hamilton obtained his freedom, and was suffered to depart. But no sooner did he arrive in Ireland, than by his exhortations Tyrconnell's real or simulated irresolution ceased, and a determination to resistance, and an entire devotion to the cause of James succeeded. The signal of this change was conveyed to the Protestants of Ireland, and the English government, by the news of the arrest of Lord Mountjoy, and his confinement in the Bastille. The last act of Tyrconnell's dissembling policy was to depute this nobleman, a Protestant, but distinguished by moderation in his party, as if to persuade James to approve of his scheme of submission; but having formed his resolution in his own mind, he associated with him the Catholic chief baron Price, to whom was confided the real secret of the embassy, which was to communicate to the exiled

King his project of resistance, and beseech him to come CHAP. IV.
over as soon as possible with what troops he could procure from the French court. No sooner had the deputies arrived in Paris, than Mountjoy was sent a prisoner to the Bastille, and Price received agreeably to his character, as the agent of the Jacobite party.

1689.

The generous but credulous Temple, who had been so egregiously deceived; a youth of the finest hopes, happy in the possession of a wife of his affections, though in the bosom of every kind of prosperity, thought he ought not to survive the imprudence of his counsel to his beloved master. He put an end to his existence on the intelligence of Hamilton's treachery, leaving behind him a note—"My own imprudence in the Prince's service, and the hurt I have done it, are the causes of my death. I wish him success in all his undertakings, and a better servant than I have proved."

As soon as the determination of Tyrconnell became known, it was evident that arms were to decide the great question of Ireland's annexation to the British empire. The kingdom was to be fought for. The people were to be conquered, or for ever dissevered from English interests.

Tyrconnell had not carried his irresolution or dissimulation so far as to neglect the means of success in the event of a contest. His system, from the accession of James, has been traced, of banishing Protestants of all ranks from the Irish army, and filling it with Catholics. The recruiting system was more eagerly and extensively pursued from the time of William's landing in England. We are told that James's army at that period, consisting entirely of Catholics, did not exceed seven or eight thousand men*. Of these, four thousand were sent by the lord lieutenant to the assistance of the sovereign of their religion in England. James, on his arrival in Ireland found, he says, one hundred thousand soldiers of all

* Archbishop King.

CHAP. IV. descriptions ready for his service*. We can scarcely
 1689. account for so large a number of fighting men after some
 facts which have been transmitted to us, and are led to
 suspect some error either in the royal writer, or the trans-
 criber of his manuscript. The computations of Sir Wil-
 liam Petty and Captain South, in the years 1672 and 1695,
 give us for the entire population of the kingdom at this
 period not more than one million of souls†. That the
 scarcity of inhabitants was considerable, and forcing itself
 on observation is evident from several passages. We
 are informed that a man might travel twenty or thirty
 miles, and not see a living creature, either man, beast, or
 bird‡, and this not *very long* before the Revolution.
 Lord Clarendon, writing in 1686, says of the county of
 Tipperary:—"In this fruitful and rich county there is
 very little arable, and consequently not much people—of
 which, indeed, *there is a great scarcity over the whole
 kingdom.*" Sir William Temple had said before, that had
 it not been for the British soldiers, and adventurers, who
 settled there, Ireland would have been left in a manner
desolate. Now, the British soldiers and adventurers were
 no part of the fund from which Tyrconnell drew his
 supplies of men.

This multitude of self-called soldiers was, according to
 the representation of James, composed, for the most part,
 of "troops of peasants, armed with long sticks tipped with
 iron at one end; and even those troops, which were said to
 be armed, had only half of them pikes, and half muskets,
 of which, two in one hundred were not fit for service,"
 Nor were they better officered;—"The officers were almost
 all natives, differing little from the soldiers§." Archbishop
 King describes these officers as in great numbers, footmen
 and cow-herds; and what might be disregarded as the
 contemptuous representation of an insolent and triumphant

* M'Pherson's State Papers.

† Newenham on the Population of Ireland.

§ M'Pherson's State Papers, vol. i. p. 177.

‡ See afterwards.

enemy, derives colour and plausibility from the account of CHAP.IV.
the King himself.

Whatever arms or military accoutrements of any kind were to be found among these ill-conditioned troops, had been procured from the Protestants, in the general scheme of disarming, which Tyrconnell had been incessantly busy in carrying into execution. In this manner he is said to have obtained three thousand fire-arms* in the city of Dublin alone. He seized on all the serviceable horses, which he transferred to his army. Money he had none. The Irish Exchequer was completely empty. All the sources of revenue were in the hands of the Protestants; and the greater number of these who might have been under the dominion of the lord lieutenant fled from the kingdom with whatever property they could carry out. He had no other means of supporting his ill-armed rabble than letting them loose on the country to rob and plunder. He pretended, indeed, that the officers were to maintain their soldiers, without pay for three months, at their own expense. But this was a preposterous attempt at disguise. The officers, as described by King James, were wholly unable to maintain themselves. That the Protestants would be the chief, if not the sole objects of these licensed depredations, was a matter to be expected; for there were few to be robbed but Protestants.—King James goes farther, and represents a spirit of religious retaliation as impelling the robberies committed on them. His words are—“Every Catholic thought himself entitled to pillage the Protestants, and render back to them the same usage they had before received at their hands.” After this confession, it is no wonder that so zealous or rather bigotted and fanatical a Protestant as Archbishop King should describe the whole as a studied system of persecution against those of his religion. His picture is drawn with all the warmth and malignancy of passion. His details are numerous, and one more aggravating than the other;

1689.

* Archbishop King.

CHAP. IV. but when he has the assurance to assert that the priests
1689. imposed it as a penance on such as came to them for absolution, to rob some of their Protestant neighbours, he exceeds all measure, and sets probability and common sense at defiance.

King's work, (The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James's Government,) possesses some merit in point of style and composition, but is so evidently a party publication, filled with so much violence and resentment against the whole body of the Catholics, that it should be received with extreme caution, and even distrust, as a history of the transactions of that time. Yet it has been the principal authority relied on by the generality of our historians. Where it has been referred to in the preceding pages, it is admitted only as far as his statements are supported by the extreme probability of the fact in itself, or confirmed by the testimony of James, whose evidence cannot be refused against himself or his own party.

A multitude, such as joined James on his arrival, though perfectly undisciplined, and with a very inadequate supply of arms and accoutrements, however wretched their appearance, have often, by vigour of onset and intrepidity of exertion, made ample amends for the several disadvantages under which they laboured. Such a multitude have often comprised within them the elements of the most victorious and splendid armies. But all the relations of the time concur in representing the irregular bands of Irish in his service, as no less cowardly than wretched. Not all the fanaticism of religion, excited and stimulated by the exhortations of their priests, and all the contrivances which superstition could set in motion, was able to overcome their in-bred pusillanimity. They uniformly fled at the approach of danger. They were cowards to the cause they loved best, fugitives from the standard of the sovereign of their choice. James himself, on more than one occasion, could not suppress or conceal the contempt with which they inspired him. The Irish of this day will feel

too proud in the martial renown which encircles their CHAP.IV.
brows, to be offended at this picture, drawn with a reluc-
tant hand by a fellow-countryman of their own. They 1689.
who can boast of the name of a Wellington—

“ ——— compatriot with their own,”

will not blush at the representations which history delivers down, of the conduct of their unworthy ancestors. No other sentiment will arise in their breasts at the perusal, but that of gratitude to the constitution and laws which have raised them to the situation of so elevated and splendid a contrast. It was remarked, however, even at the earliest periods, that the Irish, who at home, when within the contagion of their misery, in sight of their wretched mud-built cottages, dispirited by their rags and their poverty, the swarms of their squalid children, and the cries of their smoke-dried females, were the most pusillanimous of men; yet, transplanted from those domestic scenes, in the burnished array of soldiers, cheered by the sounds of martial music and all the pomp and circumstance of regular warfare, were the very reverse of this description—the security of friends and the terror of enemies.—In the reign of Henry VIII. a considerable body of them attended the King into France. The French King had been very anxious to enlist them into his own service, and had employed every art, and made use of every offer, through the agency of a swarm of monkish and other emissaries whom he kept in his pay, to seduce them from the service of England. Yet the Irish, even at that period when the English laws and constitution afforded them but a very slender protection, when they were far, far indeed, from the enjoyment of the rights and privileges their descendants have at this day; when they had many grievous injuries to complain of from England, and were in particular sorely galled and offended by the new scheme of reformation in religion, which afforded so many topics to their priestly seducers; yet, even then, they seem to have felt as members of the British empire, and to have

CHAP. IV. considered its glories as part of their inheritance. The French fled every where before the vigour and intrepidity of their onset. The most difficult country, we are told, could not retard the rapidity of their march. They swam the broadest rivers, and scaled the steepest mountains. They gave no quarter, and took none. They inspired universal terror, and came to be regarded as so many wild animals of the most tremendous description. When any of them fell into the hands of the enemy, they were castrated, and underwent dreadful torments. In the reign of Elizabeth, the great poet, Spenser, spent a considerable time in Ireland. He had an opportunity of narrowly observing the native Irish, and was witness of their pusillanimity and unsoldier-like habits in the course of their inglorious domestic wars.—Yet speaking of them when *fighting abroad*, “I have often heard some great warriors say, that in all the services which they had seen abroad in foreign countries, they never saw a more comely man than the Irishman, nor that cometh on more bravely in his charge*.”

Some years after the period of this history, whole companies of Irish had found their way into the English army serving in Flanders under their great conqueror William. It is related of him, that one of them happened to attract his attention, by the brilliant intrepidity of their conduct. He observed men no longer pale, squalid, and in rags; they stood forth in the gay trim and attire of men fighting the battles of England. The bloom of health was on their cheek, the frown of self-confidence on their brows, the fire of valour in their eye. Their broad chests were expanded by the effort of onset, their muscular arms were urging forward the exterminating bayonet. “What!” exclaimed their delighted King, “are these the ragged wretches whom I saw running in crowds before me in their native country?”

In the design of subjugating Ireland to the Revolution

* A View of the State of Ireland.

settlement, the English government was not without a considerable body of auxiliaries in the bosom of the country itself. These, assisted by an army from England, would probably be adequate to subdue the wretched and cowardly population which has been described. For their deficiency in numbers they would make ample compensation by all those qualities which insure ascendancy and victory,—promptitude, vigour, alertness, and courage.

CHAP. IV.

1689.

When, in the reign of James I. in consequence of the rebellion meditated by the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, and the flight of those noblemen to the Continent, immense tracts of land in the six northern counties of Donnegal, Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh, amounting to about five hundred thousand acres were declared forfeited to the crown, it was resolved to parcel out the greater part of the forfeited territory among adventurers that were to be invited over from England and Scotland, and to be of the Protestant religion. Numbers came from the neighbouring shores of Scotland, tempted by the shortness of the passage, which afforded such facilities to emigration. They brought with them all the shrewdness, perseverance, and determination of character which distinguish the natives of their country. The city of London was persuaded to take a share in the adventure, and expended twenty thousand pounds in forwarding it. Londonderry derived its name from the city, at whose expense, and by whose direction it was built. As it was intended to protect the new settlements, and afford a place of refuge against any sudden attack arising from the natives, who were allowed to remain intermingled among them, it was surrounded by walls and rude fortifications. The scheme of these settlements seems to have been wisely designed. The great Lord Bacon assisted it by his counsels; but the chief conductor of the enterprise was Sir Arthur Chichester, then lord deputy of Ireland, who secured such allotments of land to himself as form a little principality in the possession of his descendants. The skilful habits of commercial and manufacturing industry

CHAP. IV. in the Scotch adventurers were soon discernible in the appearance of the country. The immense forests with which it had been overrun, and in which bands of roving freebooters had sought security from punishment, and concealment for their booty, gradually disappeared, and gave place to smiling fields and trim bleach-greens. Towns and cities arose around the ports and harbours with which the line of coast is indented.

1689.

The subsequent reign brought to Ireland an accession of colonists of somewhat a different description, but of the same religious and political principles. During the course of the rebellion, army after army passed over to subjugate the native population which manifested an adherence more or less stedfast to the lawful sovereign. When the success of the rebellion was established, the officers and privates were rewarded with large grants of land in different parts of the island. The northern colony was considerably extended and strenghtened by habits well fitted for its preservation and security. The infusion of the breed of those old sturdy parliamentarians, who, by dint of valour and enterprise had subdued, and crushed, not only the king whom they were bound to obey, but the very *people* in whose name they justified their disobedience, impressed upon it a military character of no small account in any contingency of revolution and armed contest. The united wishes of the people of England and Scotland produced the *Restoration*; and the Protestant interest in Ireland, composed in a great degree of rebels and parliamentarians, was carried along by the impulse. This is the history of this event in this part of the empire. There is sufficient evidence in the relations of the time, that the *Restoration* was little palatable to the Protestant ruling party in Ireland. Nothing could be conceived more adverse to the known inclinations and feelings of the family which it re-invested with sovereignty, than their principles in politics, and still more in religion. They had reason to expect that favour would be shown, or, at least, justice done to the native population which had so griev-

ously suffered by its attachment to this family; and justice CHAP.IV.
to the native population involved the entire destruction
of their system of policy and habitual conduct, if not the
severe and exemplary punishment of many of them. The
native population they had persecuted in every way which
the ingenuity of religious hatred, inflamed by suspicion
and terror, could devise. In the course of a predatory and
desultory warfare, they had wrested from them their lands
and possessions, under the name of forfeitures and confis-
cations. A general restoration of these was the least they
had to apprehend. Moved by these apprehensions and
suspicions, and all the different motives which can easily
be imagined, even after the parliament, convened in
Dublin, had given a reluctant and ambiguous assent to
the reception of their lawful sovereign, and its conse-
quences in the re-establishment of episcopacy and episco-
pal discipline, a number of Protestant officers resolved to
dispute the *Restoration* settlement by arms. They met in
the capital, and concerted a plan for seizing the castle,
and the person of the Duke of Ormond, the lord lieute-
nant, in which the bold and ferocious Blood was to have
been a chief instrument. They opened a correspondence
with Ludlow and his associates in Holland. This plan of
insurrection was discovered, and happily defeated; but
they were men not easily disconcerted or subdued. If,
by a fortunate expedient, the lord lieutenant had not been
able to draw away a thousand of the most disaffected sol-
diery, and engage them to enlist in the service of Portu-
gal, it is probable the kingdom must have been fought
for.

At length, the members of the Protestant interest re-
flected on the impossibility of dissociating themselves from
the fortunes of Great Britain, surrounded, as they were,
by a hostile and exasperated population, and were content
to submit to the decision of their parliament, and concur
in the *Restoration* with the best grace they could assume,
and were rewarded by the *Act of Settlement*, passed under
the auspices of the restored monarch. This memorable

CHAP. IV. Act, which was regarded, at the time, and has ever since
1689. been considered as the great foundation of the English
interest in Ireland, must, however, be esteemed a signal
monument of the ingratitude of the family of Stuart. The
estates which it for ever wrested from the ancient pro-
prietors, had been lost in their service. The native Irish,
with many irregular movements, sometimes contrary to
the inclinations, and still more frequently against the
interests of the murdered Charles, had, however, uniformly
opposed his declared enemies. They were the last in the
three kingdoms, to submit to the victorious ascendant of
the regicides, and, even after they were subjugated, they
had, by every means in their power, testified their aversion
and decided opposition. Numbers had voluntarily left
their country, to attend on the person of their exiled sove-
reign, implicitly obeying his directions, though he was
without the means of enforcing them, or rewarding a
compliance with them; engaging in the service of France
or Spain, according to his orders; and, finally, forming a
little army, to guard his residence in Flanders. Had any
generous or honest feelings prevailed in the bosom of
Charles, nothing could have obliterated his sense of these
distinguished merits. The persons, to whom the estates
were to be transferred, had, many of them, been foremost
in the rebellion against his unfortunate father: all were
tainted with principles and opinions diametrically oppo-
site to his cause; some of the least exceptionable, such as
Lord Broghill, created Earl of Orrery after the Restoration,
had been in close league, and even personal friendship,
with the principal of the regicides. But every page of
history repeats the lesson—Gratitude is not the virtue of
princes. Not even adversity can teach it to them. Nou-
rished in an habitual sense of their superiority over the rest
of mortals, they esteem the severest sufferings, sustained
in their service, as no more than the performance of a
duty, which imposes, in return, no tie or obligation upon
them. Charles closed with the suggestions of his English
counsellors, who pointed out to him the support of the

English interest in Ireland, as the great basis of his policy. CHAP. IV.
 Even his brother, the Duke of York, afterwards James II. 1689.
 forgot his religious bigotry in the pleasure of being ungrateful. The services of the great body of Irish subjects were forgotten; their claims and petitions harshly and austere repulsed, and almost entirely overlooked in the final arrangement. A variety of perplexed dispositions accompanied this arrangement. Both those who were doomed to suffer, and those who were to be benefited, were divided into classes, corresponding to their supposed degrees of innocence or merit. A show was made of compensation, or *reprisal*, as it was called, to those, who, with every proof of innocence, were violently dispossessed of the inheritance of their fathers. These details possess little interest for the present times. Some gross facts will arrest their attention. A high legal character in Ireland*, who had, no doubt, minutely investigated the subject, has stated, in full parliament, that the quantity of landed property, which passed into the hands of new proprietors, under the Act of *Settlement*, amounted to seven millions eight hundred thousand acres. The entire surface of the kingdom, according to the computation of Sir William Petty†, then the only computation known, does not exceed ten millions five hundred thousand; so that more than three-fourths of Ireland underwent a violent transfer by this single act alone.

A court of claims was established in Dublin, to hear the proofs of innocence on the part of the ancient proprietors. The line of these proofs, was, by the act, drawn in the most rigorous manner possible, and there wanted no disposition in the members, composing the court, to enforce it in the manner least favourable to the unfortunate claimants. At last the court was so tired with investigations so unpalatable to them, that the claimants were condemned in the bulk, and no less than three thousand, according to the admission of a Protestant historian‡, sufficiently zealous,

* Lord Clare's Speech on the Union, quoted by Mr. Plowden.

† Political Anatomy of Ireland.

‡ Leland.

CHAP. IV. were reduced to absolute beggary, without so much as a
 1689. hearing in their own defence. The streets of Dublin were

crowded with weeping widows, clamouring in vain for their jointures. The court of claims was deaf to their supplications. Yet, because a few, very few, Catholic Irish were able to produce such proofs of innocence, as even bigotry and the most fanatical avarice could not resist, and extorted a dilatory and reluctant restoration to their ancient possessions, from their hostile judges, nothing could equal the ill humour and vexation of the parliament. The House of Commons, in which the Protestant interest exclusively prevailed, passed several angry resolutions. They waited, in a body, on the lord lieutenant, and Sir Audley Mervyn, their speaker, addressed him in a speech of singular malignancy:—"This is the critical time," said he, "in which religion, the established religion, is in danger of being undermined, by tasting the predominancy of temper upon a Popish interest."

We may judge of the feelings of Protestant individuals, who had raised fortunes at the expense of the ancient possessors, by the expressions of Sir William Petty on the subject. He had come a poor Hampshire physician to Ireland, in the train of the regicide, Ireton, replete with speculations on confiscations and forfeitures; and, having a cool, steady eye, amidst all the horrors and desolation which the sword of Ireton carried before it, he had found his speculations abundantly fulfilled. He had erected a princely fortune, amidst the smoking ruins of the country. He cannot refer to the few decisions of the court of claims, in favour of the Catholics, with common patience. The court, he is satisfied, was imposed upon by *their perjuries and forgeries*. Nothing less could have preserved the ancient inhabitants of the country in any the very least portion of the inheritance of their fathers. In the abundance of his spleen, Sir William is inclined to look back with a wishful eye, to those good old times, *when, if an Englishman had killed an Irishman, he had suffered nothing for it*: and this, he assures us, is still the law. *It is but*

indulgence and connivance, that now the same is not still in force.* CHAP. IV.

1689.

The Protestant leaven, which so largely predominated in the Irish parliament, having determined the King to dissolve it, and as the system was adopted not to convene another till this leaven was subdued, and the materials prepared for one of a Catholic complexion and principles, the Protestants had no further opportunity of uttering any parliamentary growlings during the remainder of this reign. The Duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant during the greater part of it, agreeing with them in many of their views, they found means by his agency to carry on a little persecution even in opposition to the manifest and almost declared inclinations of the English court. The accession of James, an avowed Catholic, appeared at first to extinguish the hope of being able to pursue any longer this their favourite pastime. They were compelled to make a surrender of their arms in most parts of the kingdom. The more determined or wily northerners, however, contrived to secrete theirs, and kept them, in anxious suspense, for a favourable opportunity of wielding them to the discomfiture and utter crushing of their mortal enemies. The glaring imprudence, and almost madness of the fanatical Tyrconnell somewhat revived their hopes, which assumed a brighter glow, and at length expanded into full confidence, in consequence of the intelligence from England.

The preparations of William, and his meditated invasion were speedily communicated to them, and inspired them with the liveliest joy. They hailed him as their deliverer and champion, and could not restrain themselves, even before he had himself by action manifested his design, from taking the most decided steps to second and support him.

Many of the Protestant soldiers and officers who had been cashiered by Tyrconnell, sought refuge in Holland, where they gathered round the standard of William, fore-

* Political Anatomy, p. 322.

CHAP. IV. most to brave every danger in his service. He derived
— from their zeal some of the most valuable recruits for his
1689. enterprise.

Archbishop King has framed an account of the Protestants of Ireland, which is on the face of it inconsistent, and confutes itself. He would persuade his reader, that they were at once zealous for King William, and loyal and submissive to King James. He would attribute to them a large portion of the merit of the Revolution which was accomplished, without taking away from their general character of loyalty and submissiveness to the lawful authorities. Loyalty and a disposition to submission were far from their general character. They were deeply tainted with the sin of the Rebellion against Charles I. They had the blood of the fathers of that rebellion rolling strong in their veins. They hated the house of Stuart, and had well earned their hatred in return. The reigning sovereign of that race they hated with that abundance of spite and animosity which they bore to all Catholics; nor did any incur their hatred with impunity. They were prompt to take up arms, brave and resolute in carrying them, and not easily compelled to lay them down again. They were full of activity and vigilance. They had all the courage of the rebels from which the greater number sprung. They expected no mercy from the ancient inhabitants, as they deserved none, and their resistance was calculated upon that principle. As early as the month of September 1688, Mr. Plowden has shown, they had formed a military association in the north to co-operate with the design of the Revolution, had appointed committees in subserviency to it, enlisted men, distributed them into regiments, and appeared in the field with drums beating and colours flying. They had even ventured to disarm the old Irish around them, and such among themselves as they at all suspected of coldness or lukewarmness in the cause. They had thus superseded the government of James and his lieutenant, before the landing of William, before even he had embarked in his expedition. It was a

measure of great daring, and all that can be said, is, that CHAP.IV.
fortune crowned it. Had William's enterprise miscarried —————
they would have been hunted down as traitors, and num- 1689.
bers of them have suffered on the scaffold. As it was
successful, they were rewarded with honours and power.
It is idle to arraign them at the bar of the existing laws
and constitution. In such times, laws and constitution
are a dead letter. It was for the sword to decide, and
they took care theirs should be the longest and sharpest.

As soon as the news came of the prosperous landing of
the Prince of Orange, they sent deputies to him, with
expressions of congratulation, and a tender of their ser-
vices. The Prince, who was not prepared to send a force
to assist them, and had no very clear conception of the
importance of such a remote country as Ireland, which,
in his continental habits of life, he knew only by reports
that represented it in a condition of perfect barbarism,
answered the deputies concisely and dryly,—“ that he
thanked them, and would take care of them.” The Pro-
testants were not repulsed by this coldness. They went
on in their preparations for defence and resistance, and
their zeal and activity received a fresh impulse from a
fortuitous incident. In the month of December, before
the flight of James from England, a letter was conveyed
to Lord Mount Alexander, a zealous Protestant in the
county of Down, announcing that on a certain day which
was named, the Irish were to rise up in arms, and at the
instigation of their priests commence a general massacre
of the Protestants. This letter, like all such anonymous
scrawls, was ill written and ill spelt. It was the low
device of some vulgar incendiary to spread terror and
consternation among the Protestants of the kingdom, and
stimulate the more resolute to a more regular and extended
resistance than they had yet established. It had its
intended effect. It immediately became public, and was
thought to confirm the more vague rumours which had
been some time afloat. It purported to come from some
person who was himself an accessory to the conspiracy.

CHAP. IV. The contagion of fear spread itself with rapidity throughout the kingdom, and manifested itself with the strongest symptoms in the capital. Crowds of both sexes, and of every age, were seen running to the shore, and with their arms extended to the vessels in the harbour, imploring to be carried away from the butchery which threatened them. The castle bridge was drawn up to exclude the entrance of the frantic suppliants. Tyrconnell tried every method of promise and remonstrance, without being able to restore tranquillity and composure. While the multitude gave way to these terrors, and had recourse to prayers and supplications, there is no doubt there were many who were revolving very different projects. A design had already been formed to surprise the castle, seize on the person of the lord lieutenant, and send him a prisoner to England. The Protestants surveyed with contempt the Catholic populace, whom they represented as alike wretched and cowardly, and observed the number of soldiers whom Tyrconnell had about him to guard his residence and awe the capital, did not exceed six hundred. Why they did not make the attempt they had in contemplation, we are not distinctly informed. We shall hardly be persuaded it was from any habits of loyalty or disposition to submit to the government of James*.

The city of Derry, or Londonderry, it has been seen, was built to protect the Protestant settlements in the north of Ireland. Its fortifications were contemptible in the eyes of a military critic, and were just sufficient to repulse any rude rabble from the country, who might make an attempt to storm it. A Protestant regiment under the command of Lord Mountjoy had been in garrison here, but had been withdrawn by Tyrconnell, when he sent off to England large detachments from the Irish army to support the falling fortunes of his master, on the first news of the landing of the Prince of Orange. Derry

*But the Protestants had been educated in such mighty veneration to the very name of authority, &c.—*King's State of the Protestants*, p. 125.

had since remained without any troops. Though Tyr-
connell had commenced a negociation with the English
government, and was, or seemed, undetermined what part
to act, he thought it expedient to secure a place of some
strength in the very centre of the Protestant colony of the
north. He ordered the Earl of Antrim to repair with his
regiment to Derry, and occupy the town. Antrim was a
zealous Catholic, and his regiment entirely of that per-
suasion, composed chiefly of raw recruits from the wildest
parts of the kingdom. The spirit excited by the publi-
cation of Lord Mount Alexander's letter was in its highest
effervescence, and the terrors of a Catholic massacre
general within the walls of Derry. Lord Antrim's regi-
ment had, in its progress to the place of its destination,
arrived at the village of Limavaddy, within twelve miles
of the town. Colonel Philips, proprietor of the village,
by a sudden effort of resolution, whether proceeding from
the prevailing terrors of the time, or the result of a con-
siderate and enlarged frame of mind, determined to pre-
vent the entrance of this body of men into Derry. He
dispatched a messenger to the citizens, who happened
to be assembled, deliberating on the critical circumstances
which hung over them. The messenger outstripped the
march of the regiment, and delivered a letter, in which
they were painted in the most hideous and frightful
colours. Twelve hundred men, tall and terrible in their
aspect, followed by a crowd of women, little less terrible
than themselves. These representations were accompa-
nied by exhortations to resistance. Philips himself fol-
lowed close on the heels of his messenger. He added
personal encouragements. The great body of the citizens
listened with pleasure, but hesitated. The soldiers were
already under the walls. Two of their officers had come
in to prepare quarters, when by an effort as sudden as
that which determined the message of Philips, nine young
men of the town drew their swords, snatched up the keys
of the gates, raised the drawbridge, and refused admittance
to the troops. Their example inspired all with courage.

CHAP. IV. The citizens held a meeting in the great square, and

1689.

resolved to defend themselves. All the gates were secured. The magazine was plundered of whatever arms and ammunition it contained. Philips of Limavaddy was chosen governor by popular acclamation. Here commenced the memorable resistance of Londonderry.

The conduct of the citizens of Derry encouraged the Protestants generally throughout the kingdom to rise in arms. Even in Munster and Connaught, where they were but thinly scattered in loose unconnected groupes, they gathered round the standards of Lords Inchiquin and Kingston; but in Ulster, where they formed the principal population of some districts, and where in all parts their numbers were considerable, they arrayed themselves into regular resistance. At the same time that Derry shut its gates, Enniskillen, the principal town of the county of Fermanagh, situated in a small island in Lough Erne, refused admittance to two companies which Tyrconnell had sent to quarter there, and rivalled Derry in the vigour and spirit of its defence.

Tyrconnell yet involved in irresolution and dissimulation, deemed it expedient to keep terms with the Protestants. He endeavoured by soothing proclamations and friendly messages to compose the ferment which had arisen. He entered into a treaty with the citizens of Derry. As he knew they regarded with partiality Lord Mountjoy, who had formerly commanded among them, and who professed the same religion, he proposed that they should receive him at the head of six companies to garrison the town. The citizens readily consented to admit him, but insisted that the troops should, in the first instance, be entirely purged of Papists, according to their phraseology. Tyrconnell was obliged to dissemble his vexation, and close with these terms, preferring to leave Derry even with a Protestant garrison, whom he had some hopes of influencing and directing by means of their commanders, than in a state of undisguised rebellion. On the departure of Lord Mounjoy for France, the command of

his regiment and the principal authority in the garrison CHAP. IV.
devolved to his lieutenant-colonel, a man of the name of
Lundy, who, whether from confirmed treachery or innate
pusillanimity, evidently listened to the offers of Tyrconnell,
or was terrified by his menaces.

1689.

After General Hamilton had joined the lord lieutenant, and he was either disentangled from his irresolution, or persuaded to throw off the mask, the war was prosecuted on all sides with vigour against the Protestants. The northerns, in an ebullition of confidence, had descended as far as Dromore in the county of Down. General Hamilton put himself at the head of whatever troops he could collect, and succeeded in defeating them with considerable slaughter. This defeat the Irish exultingly called the rout of Dromore. The defeated Protestants retired from post to post, and at last took shelter in Coleraine. They were not able to maintain their stand there, but were driven across the Bann to the very walls of Derry. This city and Enniskillen were the only places of any consequence which remained in their possession.

James, on his landing in Ireland, which happened on the 12th of March, was gratified by the intelligence of the victory obtained by his Irish troops at Dromore, and pleased himself with the prospect of a restoration to his throne by their assistance.

He had been much pressed by Lord Dundee to land in Scotland, and put himself at the head of his party in that kingdom. He had, however, given the preference to Ireland. He had, probably, during his residence in Scotland, observed the determined hostility of the great bulk of the population, which was fanatically Presbyterian, both to his political and religious creed. He did not much rely on the support of the episcopal party, which was inconsiderable in number; and notwithstanding their high prerogative tenets, too tenaciously Protestant to second him in his predominant passion. The Irish were fanatics after his own heart, and from them he would meet with no remonstrances or entreaties in favour of the Protestant

CHAP. IV. religion under any modification, which were all alike odious
——— to him. To his beloved Irish he accordingly sailed from
1689. Brest. He had been able to gather while in France about
twelve hundred who had strayed to the Continent, and
attended him in his expedition to their native country.—
The French King had given him fourteen ships of war to
escort him, but only a hundred French officers, destined
to discipline, to command the Irish forces, and a very
slender supply of money, arms, and ammunition. This
parsimony in the assistance thus afforded him has been
differently accounted for. Writers who discover a linger-
ing partiality to this last sovereign of the Stuart race, tell
us, that Lewis earnestly pressed him to receive from him
much larger succours, but that he proudly answered with
the spirit of a King of England, “that he would succeed
by the help of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt.”
—I wish I could discover any portion of this sturdy British
tenaciousness, either in the general history of his life, or in
those papers which M’Pherson has given to us, and which,
on the presumption of their authenticity, must contain his
private thoughts and speculations.—On the contrary, we
find him, on every occasion, forward to run into the
embraces of France, and imploring French assistance
against his subjects. The unvarying tone of the papers
referred to is precisely to the same effect. Even the
military prowess of England he is content to lay prostrate
at the feet of her rival. One particular instance will be
related in its proper place. A more probable account is,
that the French court *purposely* stinted him in the succours
it afforded him. It was a French speculation at the time
to allow the war to prey on the vitals of the British empire;
to uphold a sort of equipoise between the belligerent
parties, that they might waste each other’s strength, and
produce general debility.—It is now clear that this was
not a wise policy on the part of France. Had she suc-
ceeded in overturning the Revolution settlement, and
carrying James to the throne by the triumph of her arms,
she probably never would have found any considerable

obstacle to her ambition in England. The struggle for the independence of Europe would have been subdued. But the views of France were different. She afterwards threw in more considerable succours when she observed Ireland of herself was quite inadequate to maintain the contest. These were never objected to by James. The account of the Jacobite writers stands completely unsupported.

CHAP. IV.

1689.

James effected his landing at the port of Kinsale, not far from the city of Cork. His first care was to secure the slender supplies he had brought with him; and for that purpose deposited them in the fort of Kinsale. From thence he proceeded to Cork, where he was met by Lord Tyrconnell, who, as a pledge of his sincerity, thought proper to entertain him with the spectacle of an execution, ordering some obscure person who had declared for William to be hanged in presence of the King. James was so pleased with the services Tyrconnell had rendered or promised to render, that he created him a duke on the spot; and he was from this time forth the Duke of Tyrconnell.—He made his public entry into Dublin on the 24th of the month. Whatever expectations he had conceived of the efficiency of his Irish subjects towards his restoration before he had left France, had been a good deal dissipated during his progress to the capital. He surveyed with sentiments of despondency the rude, ill-armed, undisciplined rabble, whom Tyrconnell had collected and called an army. He could not hear of a single magazine erected for his service; not above eight hundred and seventy-eight serviceable muskets could be found deposited anywhere. There was not one piece of battery ready mounted in the whole kingdom. His field artillery consisted of twelve pieces, and he had two little mortars in a condition to march*. On his arrival in Dublin he set people at work to fabricate arms for his troops, which he had reduced to about thirty thousand, chusing from the

James
lands in
Ireland.

* M'Pherson's Papers, p. 179.

CHAP. IV. whole irregular levy those of best appearance. But all
1689. the workmen he could procure, were Protestants, who, he says, worked unwillingly, and interposed as many delays and obstacles as they possibly could. There was, likewise, a great scarcity of tools and implements of all sorts; so that not above fifty or sixty muskets were manufactured in the week. There was no less difficulty to provide money for the pay even of the reduced force he had to maintain. The whole treasure, given to him by the parsimony of the French monarch, did not exceed four hundred thousand crowns, and there were no longer means of supporting the troops by plunder, as had been hitherto done. The country was destroyed by their depredations. The officers, no less than the privates, were in a deplorable state of distress. James contrived, by extreme management, to pay them some of the arrears due to them, out of his French supply; but other expedients were to be resorted to.

James was completely subject to the influence, almost to the authority, of Count D'Avaux, who had attended him from France as ambassador, and the Duke of Tyrconnell. These two, to whom was nominally associated Lord Melfort, formed a council, in which every measure relating to the government of the kingdom was debated, and from them every decision proceeded. The ambassador had no object in view, but to promote the French interests, according to the narrow scheme of policy laid down by his master. James was every day reminded, that the prince, who flies into the dominions of a foreign sovereign for succour, purchases the assistance he receives with the loss of all freedom and independence of action. So abject was the dependence to which he was reduced, that, on some occasion, an Irish soldier, being tried by a court-martial for drawing his sword on a French officer, and, being unanimously acquitted on the irresistible cogency of the evidence, which proved the man assaulted to have been no officer at all, but merely a native of France, he was obliged to send the most humble and earnest apologies to

the King, his protector, for fear he should be represented as CHAP.IV.
having neglected the interests of France, in an instance, 1689.
where an obscure Frenchman was accidentally menaced*. At the instance of the ambassador, he gave commissions to the privateers of St. Malo, to prey on the English commerce. With a view of injuring England in her staple manufacture, he forbade the exportation of Irish wool to any of her ports, allowing it, at the same time, to be exported to France. It would be uncharitable to the memory of this unfortunate monarch, to suppose his feelings did not sometimes rebel at the severe necessity imposed upon him. He must have had some hopes of being restored to the flourishing kingdom which had once acknowledged his sway. He had applied himself, with no small pains and attention, to the promotion of its commercial interests. He must, therefore, have felt some reluctance in sacrificing them at once at the feet of its rival. But whatever were his secret feelings, he did enough to lend more than colour and plausibility to the reports propagated by his enemies, that this was the first condition of his restoration by French assistance, to which was to be added the sacrifice of the maritime pride and greatness of England. It was necessary for him to comply with every little speculation of interest the avidity of the ambassador or his master might form. The commercial arrangements were equally injurious to Ireland, the kingdom which obeyed and supported him; for the Irish, in return for their unmanufactured wool, were to receive from France her manufactures, her luxuries, the produce of her vineyards, almost duty free. But, provided they were gratified in their blind hatred of England, they were satisfied. This made Tyrconnell, in every instance, the zealous supporter of the ambassador's representations, and secured to his projects, in return, the ambassador's approbation, without which they had no prospect of being successful. By their joint advice, or rather orders, he issued a procla-

* M'Pherson's Papers, p. 193-4.

CHAP. IV. mation, for a parliament to meet the 7th of May following. He knew the great object which the Irish had at heart in this parliament, from which every thing like English interest was to be excluded, was to repeal the Act of Settlement, and, whatever was his religious fanaticism, he had so much of the Englishman in his composition, as to listen to his English advisers, and be inclined to support it*. But, because England was to suffer by the repeal, this was the very reason which induced the ambassador to be earnest in pressing it.

* See his complaints of his Irish subjects, for forcing the repeal upon him.—*M'Pherson's Papers*, p. 170.

CHAPTER V.

Siege of Londonderry.—Fight off Bantry Bay.—James's Irish Parliament.—Act of Settlement repealed.—Most of the Protestants in the Kingdom attainted, and their Properties declared to be confiscated.—Copper Coinage issued by James.—Arrival of Duke Schomberg in Ireland.—Digression on Ludlow, and the Rebellion in the Reign of Charles I.—Arrival of King William.—Battle of the Boyne.—James finally quits Ireland.—Taking of Cork by the Earl, afterwards Duke of Marlborough.—Rapparees, or Tories, their Manner of Life described.—Campaign of 1691.—Athlone taken by the English.—Battle of Aughrim.—Capitulation and Articles of Limerick.—Revolution consummated in the three Kingdoms.—Dissertation on the past and present State of Ireland, concluding the whole.

JAMES left Tyrconnell in Dublin, to carry into effect the measures which were necessary for the composition of the parliament to obtain the character and temper desired, and proceeded to join his army in the north, under the walls of Derry. He set off from Dublin on the 5th of April. Ever since the government of Derry had devolved to Lundy, he had carried on a perfidious correspondence with the party of James. His first measures awakened the suspicions of the citizens, who would gladly have shaken off his authority, but, about the middle of March, an officer had arrived from England, bringing with him a commission from King William, appointing Lundy governor of the town. The citizens, however, reluctantly, were obliged to submit to these superior orders. Lundy, notwithstanding this testimony of confidence with which he

1689.

CHAP. V. had been honoured, did not discontinue his clandestine
1689. negotiations. He had actually entered into an engagement to deliver up the town to James on his approach. James, a few days after his arrival in his camp, advanced with a full assurance of taking possession of it, according to the secret stipulations of the governor, but so determined were the citizens to persevere in defending themselves, that neither his presence, nor all the arts and management of Lundy produced any effect upon them. They could not be restrained from firing at a troop which they saw approaching their walls, though James himself was discernibly riding at the head of it. An officer was killed a few yards from his person. He was so confounded at this rough salutation, which he so little expected, that he immediately withdrew to St. John's Town, and a few days after returned to Dublin to hide his shame, on the pretence of meeting his parliament. He did not withdraw from his Irish army without testifying his contempt, for it, and drawing an insulting contrast between English and Irish soldiers, saying, the English would, in less time, have brought him the town piece-meal. The citizens of Derry, though not a little fettered and embarrassed by their treacherous governor, had not been neglectful of precautions against the event which they daily expected, of a regular siege being laid to their town. They had raised money among themselves, and built a ravelin to defend one of their most exposed gates. They had received four hundred and eighty barrels of powder, arms and ammunition for two thousand men, and a sum of a thousand pounds in money from England. They had sent their first governor, Philips, and after him a Mr. Cairnes, to solicit further supplies from William's government. Cairnes had returned but a very short time before the event of James's repulse, with exhortations to continued resistance, an assurance that two veteran regiments were on the sea-shore ready to embark to their assistance, and promises of abundance of arms and ammunition, and whatever was necessary for their defence. These exhortations and

promises had operated with no small influence to produce CHAP. V.
their spirited conduct in defiance of their governor's
orders. Not many days after the return of Cairnes, the 1689.
two veteran regiments which had been promised appeared
in the lough which communicates with the town, but
Lundy, who was determined on his perfidious surrender,
succeeded by his representations to persuade the com-
manders to set sail again, without so much as landing the
force they had brought with them. This desertion of their
destined auxiliaries, did not, any more than the treachery
of their governor, move the heroic inhabitants of Derry
from their stedfast resolution. The ships which conveyed
them were not yet lost in the distant horizon, but might
be descried with all their sails spread abandoning the
Irish shores, when these men of undaunted spirit, bound
themselves by a solemn oath pronounced at the foot of
their ramparts, rather to bury themselves in the ruins of the
place than surrender it to the Prince whom they abhorred
as the enemy of their religion and liberties. They were
now fully convinced of Lundy's treachery, by his conduct
both at the departure of the regiments, and on the
approach of James. So that, finding his orders entirely
disregarded, and his person assailed by threats and clamours,
he thought proper to escape from the town. He might,
no doubt have been stopped, and he had reason to appre-
hend no small danger to his person from the effects of the
popular resentment; but so much respect was shown to
the commission he bore, that his escape was favoured by
those who were determined to get rid of him. It was,
however, in a mean disguise that he fled to a ship in the
lough, which conveyed him to Scotland. The citizens,
maturely deliberating on fit persons to succeed him, thought
none so proper as the Reverend Mr. Walker, rector of
Donaghmore, in the county of Tyrone, and Major Baker,
as so great exertion both of mind and body would be
required in the conduct of the defence, that a divided
command and trust would be absolutely necessary. The
latter died before the termination of the siege, and it is

CHAP. V. Mr. Walker whom history has to proclaim, the hero of
—— Londonderry, and the saviour of the liberties of Ireland.

1689.

This man had, early in the Protestant insurrection of the north, felt in himself the stirrings of a hero's spirit, and shook of the shackles which his ecclesiastical profession imposed upon him. He had raised a regiment at his own expense, and conducted a variety of movements in the neighbourhood of Derry, which had impressed the citizens with the highest opinion of his valour, and that skill which genius communicates, and which, neither rules nor dull experience can impart. He had uniformly opposed the many contrivances of Lundy to embarrass the operations and damp the ardour of the northern Protestants, and this, as well as his great qualities in war, pointed him out to the defenders of Derry for their leader, and the guide of their zeal. Had he been a military pedant, who conceives nothing possible out of a narrow circle of rules, he would have at once given up the place in despair. As he was a man of genius, and a hero born, he defended and kept it. Never was exhibited so severe a satire on the whole pedantry of war as in the circumstances of this immortal defence. If any thing parallel can be found, it will be in the history of our own times. We have seen a small Syrian fortress, without any regular fortifications, defended, and successfully defended, by a handful of marines and an irregular assemblage of Turks, headed by the captain of a man of war riding in the harbour. Its assailants were the best troops in Europe under the command of its most renowned general. These, after being baffled in repeated assaults, and after a protracted siege of sixty-one days, retired in disorder across the desert which divides Asia from Africa. The siege of Derry, from the regular investment of the place, to the time when the besieging army withdrew in disorder from its walls, lasted more than the same time, and though the assailants were less powerful, and the reputation of their commanders very different, yet its means of resistance were still more slender. This will appear by an account of the local circumstances of the

place and the state of its preparations, which will show CHAP. V.
what an humble clergyman was able to accomplish after
the despair and flight of veteran regiments and veteran
officers. 1689.

Derry, or Londonderry is situated on the north coast of Ireland. It communicates with the sea by the river Foyle, which expands into a lough or lake called Lough Foyle, into which the sea enters by an inlet about a mile and a half broad, between two points of land known by the names of Magilligin and Green Castle. At the flowing in of the river into the lake, there stood a fort of some strength, Culmore Fort. The river separates the town from the greater part of the county to which it gives its name, which stretches in a south-east direction from it. The communication, at the time of the siege, was by a ferry, instead of which there is now a handsome bridge. The river, in its progress from the south-west, makes a little bend, and bathing a quay, called Ship Quay, which is embanked on the wall at the north-east extremity of the town, enables it to receive succours from the lake and the sea.

The town described the form of an oblong, or lengthened square, and was enclosed by a wall, in most places, of seven or eight feet thickness. There were four gates corresponding to the different sides of it. Ferry Gate to the south, leading to the ferry over the river; Ship Quay Gate, opening on the quay; Butcher's Gate, and Bishop's Gate.

At the commencement of the siege, the number of fighting men in the town, was, by an account taken by the new governors, about seven thousand four hundred:—Of these were three hundred who performed the service of cavalry, being indifferently provided with horses. They were divided into squadrons, and commanded by Colonel Murray. Colonel Murray was a very gallant officer, who had early taken a decided and conspicuous part against the proceedings of Lundy. He had been offered the government when this last was displaced, but had declined

Siege of
London-
derry.

CHAP. V. accepting it, saying, he was better fitted for offensive than
1689. defensive war. He distinguished himself in all the sallies, and rendered much brilliant service during the course of the siege. Besides the number of men who might be esteemed soldiers, and were of assistance in the defence, there were near thirty thousand of all ages and sexes who had fled into the town from the surrounding country. These were only calculated to spread consternation and excite panics. Ten thousand left the place on a vague promise from James's generals, that they should not be molested. But too many useless mouths remained to consume the small stock of provisions. The want of provisions was the greatest want of the besieged. Lundy had estimated there was not more than would supply the inhabitants for ten days, and though he might have had a motive in this unfavourable estimate, yet the severe famine which they sustained before the termination of the siege, shows the stock had never been considerable. "There was not a gun well mounted in the whole town. Not so much as a hand-grenade to annoy the enemy*." The boats with which any communication could be carried on with the sea, had all been taken away by the fugitives to England, and not one remained. What might be called fortifications, consisted of a bastion at each corner, and besides two bastions on the west, and a bastion and demi-bastion on the eastern extremity of the town. There were no outworks except a ravelin raised a short time before the siege to defend Bishop's Gate. There was not so much as a moat or counterscarp around the walls, so that the besiegers could work into the very place. The town standing upon an easy ascent, the houses were all exposed to the fire directed against it, and tumbled down by hundreds, so that the besieged were plentifully supplied with fuel, which would have been otherwise a scarcity, from the timber which entered into the construction of these houses, and which was ready broke at their hands.

* Walker's Account

Before the termination of the siege, the whole stock of iron balls was exhausted, and the defect was ingeniously supplied by some persons who had a natural talent for engineering, with pieces of brick covered with lead, and discharged by them with good effect. CHAP. V.
1689.

The first disposition of Walker after he was elected governor was, to divide the whole garrison into a number of regiments, and these again into companies. To each company was assigned a particular part of the wall which was committed exclusively to it. On any sudden alarm every man and every division of men knew their stations, and a spirit of emulation excited the valour and devotion of all.

Walker well knew the effect of the strong passions which are connected with the spirit of religion. There were prayers and a sermon in the cathedral every day. Eighteen clergymen of the Church of England, and seven Presbyterian ministers were continually busy with their exhortations and encouragements; sometimes mingling in the fight, at others performing in the church and conventicles. Some of the ministers, possessed with the exclusive fanaticism of their sect, would have revived the *covenant*, and sown divisions among the defenders of the Protestant religion, but their importunate clamours were soon silenced, and the name of the Protestant religion united all who belonged to it. So determined and ardent was the spirit of resistance that an order was issued, and received with general approbation, punishing the very mention of a surrender with death; and during the progress of the siege, when all the horrors of famine raged among the inhabitants, there was but one resolution among them,—to devour all the Irish they could take, and then one another, rather than deliver up the place to any but their own king and hero, William. There was as much ferocity as heroism in this resolution; but so it was. The fanaticism of religion combined with the other motives, expelled all ordinary feelings from their breasts.

We are indebted to the hero who conducted the

CHAP. V. defence, for the details of it arranged in the form of a
— journal*. The historian has only to select the particulars
1689. he may deem the most interesting.

It was on the 20th of April, a few days after the repulse of James, that the siege might be said to be formed. James's troops gathered round the town in all directions. They amounted to about twenty-five thousand. They spread themselves to the east, between the place and the lough, which communicated with the sea, from which it was to receive any succours. They occupied both the banks of the river above the town, getting possession of Culmore Fort by the dastardly surrender of its governor. Lower down, where was another fort, called Charles Fort, likewise in their hands, and where the river was the narrowest, they fixed a boom fortified by iron chains and a cable twelve inches thick twisted round it. Some time elapsed before any ships appeared likely to attempt breaking this boom, and introducing succours into the place. There was scarce, however, a day in which there was not some sally from the besiegers. These sallies were carried on not in conformity to the rules of ordinary warfare, but with a sort of volunteering spirit, in which the passions and emulation of every individual were called into action. As many men as chose volunteered for the sally, and, with military acclamations, called on the officer, whom they most approved of to head them. The object of the sallies was often to procure water. The water in the town was so muddy and troubled by the continual firing, that it could scarcely be drank. The wells, without the walls, were obstinately fought for;—the besieged would often endeavour to correct the badness of the water by an infusion of ginger, and anniseeds, of which they happened to have abundance.

The 21st, the day after the complete investment of the town, the besieged made a vigorous sally in the direction of the river and lough, to destroy some of the works which

* Account of the Siege of Londonderry, by the Rev. Mr. Geo. Walker, published in London in 1689.

were erected to hinder their communication. They killed two hundred men and a French general of the name of the Marquis de Maumont. In the course of the action, Colonel Murray, at the head of fifty horsemen, was surrounded by an innumerable host of the enemy, and, notwithstanding the prodigies of valour he performed, must have fallen into their hands, if Walker had not come to his assistance when he was most pressed, mounted one of the horses, the rider of which had been killed, rallied Murray's men, who were beginning to give way, and disengaged him with the most imminent hazard to himself. The next day the guns of the place killed some friars in their habits as they were running through the ranks, vainly exhorting their men to press forward to the attack. Their votaries were not a little annoyed "that the blood of such holy men should be spilt by such an heretical rabble as the people within the town."

Some time in the month of June, Mareschal de Rosen assumed the command of the besieging army, which had hitherto been under the orders of General Hamilton. He was a German by birth, very ill qualified for the employment of contending against the struggles of genius and enthusiasm. He was circumscribed by a narrow circle of rules, which he had learnt in a course of pedantic experience. He had no ardour of enterprise or fertility of invention. He could not supply the want of ordinary means by expedients prompted by the circumstances of the moment. In one of his early dispatches to James, he describes Londonderry as a "*place bien garnie*," which was to be attacked "*selon toutes les règles de la guerre*." But what De Rosen wanted in military talents he abundantly possessed in brutality and ferocity of character. He had been employed by the French government in the whole detail of military persecutions of the Protestants which followed the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and in this school had acquired a taste for cruel and violent proceedings. Seeing he made no progress against the town by what he termed "*les règles de la guerre*," he con-

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CHAP. V. received a project of singular barbarity: he swept the
1689. whole country round as far as Belfast, and at the point of
the sword drove five thousand, or according to some
accounts, seven thousand Protestants of all ages and both
sexes under the walls of Derry. These lived in peace,
and security, under a solemn declaration from James, pro-
mising them protection. We have the order of De Rosen,
directed to the several officers charged with carrying his
project into execution*, and he therein employs some
precision, to include in his scheme of destruction the whole
number of those he calls rebels, "whether men or boys,
women or girls, or infants, of whatever age, whether they
are protected or unprotected;" so that individuals having
special protections given to themselves personally, were
comprehended. The project was, that by their cries, in
the extremity of famine, they might prevail on the com-
passion of the inhabitants of Londonderry to open their
gates to them, and thus obtain the admission of the be-
siegiers, who were close at their heels. For this purpose
they were allowed to carry from their homes only so much
subsistence as was necessary for them till they got under
the walls, where they were to remain without any food
whatsoever. The whole promiscuous crowd lay under the
walls of Derry for some days and nights, and, amidst the
gnawings of famine, which preyed upon their vitals,
such was the zeal and enthusiasm which animated them,
that their feeble voices were raised to the inhabitants
within, who were spectators of their sufferings, conjuring
them not to admit them, but to bar their gates the faster
against so cruel and perfidious an enemy. The inhabi-
tants, in order to obtain the deliverance of these sufferers,
to whom they were attached by so many ties, particularly
the strongest of all, those of religion, erected a gallows on
their rampart, threatening to hang up all their prisoners,
unless the suffering multitude under the walls were
allowed to depart to their several homes. They dispatched

* M'Pherson's State Papers.

a message to De Rosen to send some of his priests and friars to perform the office of confessors. De Rosen did not immediately yield to this menace, but it had wrought so on the Irish part of his army, whose fellow-countrymen the prisoners for the most part were, that it ultimately produced its effect. Those who survived the horrors of famine were released from their cruel situation, and allowed to depart. The besieged laid hold of this opportunity to get rid of some of the most sickly and exhausted in their number, by introducing them into the crowd, and they took in some strong and useful hands in their place. Only a part of those who came returned home. Many expired under the very walls. Others dragged their languid steps, overcome by famine and disease, and breathed their last upon the road. The few who reached their habitations found all their cattle, furniture, and provisions swept away, and their habitations themselves often a prey to the flames. They fell victims most of them to want and despair. Those who had escaped from the town could afterwards be recognized, says James, by their wan and lean countenances, and nauseous smell. They carried the seeds of disease, lodged in their emaciated bodies, and spread sickness and pestilence over a land already delivered over to every species of misery and desolation. Many of the Irish, notwithstanding the strong national prejudices with which they surveyed the race of English settlers and Protestants, with that kindness and good nature which no circumstances were ever able wholly to extirpate from their national character, were melted at the spectacle, and publicly testified their execration of De Rosen's barbarity. Writers who have persecuted the memory of James, without any regard to justice, and often in defiance of the most authentic documents and best proved facts, have represented him as accessory to all that De Rosen's conduct had of cruel and odious. King, the most malignant of all party writers, relates, that upon the Bishop of Meath's expostulating with James on what was going forward, and endeavouring to persuade him to put a stop to

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CHAP. V. it, James very calmly answered, "He had heard of it
 — before—that General de Rosen was a foreigner, and
 1689. used to such proceedings as were strange to us, though
 common in other places; but that if he had been his own
 subject he would have called him to an account for it." King adds, "Yet he continued him still in his employ-
 ment."—It is now demonstrable from original papers, that
 James disapproved in the strongest manner of De Rosen's
 conduct, and took every opportunity of expressing his
 disapprobation. No sooner did De Rosen communicate
 to him his design, than he wrote back to him in the
 strongest terms: "It is positively our will, that you do
 not put your project in execution, as far as it regards the
 men, women, and children, of whom you speak; but, on
 the contrary, that you send them back to their *habitations*
 without any injury to their persons." He, at the same
 time, issued a circular letter, directed to all the officers to
 whom De Rosen might communicate his order, in order
 to have it put in execution, enjoining them "positively
 to refuse obedience thereto," and declaring, "that such
 order had been given entirely without his knowledge,
 and in direct contravention of his will." De Rosen
 had been appointed to the command in Ireland by the
 French government, and it was not in James's power "to
 discontinue him from his employment" by his own autho-
 rity; but when he sent Lord Dover a little time after to
 France on a special mission, he instructed him, among
 other things, to solicit the recal of De Rosen, on the
 ground of his proceedings before Derry. "You are to
 endeavour, with all the softness imaginable, to have our
 dearest brother recal the Marquis de Rosen as one, after
 having done what he did at Londonderry, incapable to
 serve us*," &c. De Rosen was accordingly recalled, and
 Count Lauzun sent to command in his place.—So much
 for the evidence of Archbishop King as a compiler for
 history.—De Rosen, though by the express orders of

* M'Pherson's Papers.

James he was obliged to release the unfortunate Protestants he had assembled under the walls of the town, yet omitted no menace which might shake the constancy of the people within. He swore by the belly of God, a usual oath with him, that he would burn the town, and bury the inhabitants in its ashes, without consideration of age or sex; and with respect to the chiefs and leaders, he would study the most exquisite torments, to lengthen out the misery of their deaths. With these threats he mixed offers of pardon and proposals of peace and reconciliation, addressed chiefly to the body of the inhabitants and soldiery; and to make them generally acquainted with them, suspecting they were withheld from their knowledge by their chiefs, inclosed them in a dead shell discharged for the purpose into the town. On the other hand, the besieged, in the discourses which they held with the Irish from their walls, endeavoured to sow division between them and their allies. They encouraged them to expatiate with that fluency and eagerness which characterizes them on the contemptuous treatment which they received from the French officers. These last considered themselves as transported into a country of savages, and the vanity and insolence which have ever distinguished their nation, were inflamed to the highest degree by the wretched appearance of the natives. The poor Irish were stung to the quick, and notwithstanding the sympathy of religion, and other circumstances which united them with these foreigners, felt all their old national pride called up by the contempt they experienced. They would curse those damned fellows that walked in trunks (meaning their jack-boots) who were getting every thing, and would not leave a spot of ground to them*.

The town having no manner of out-works to protect it from the approaches of the besiegers, these last could carry their mines under the very walls, and so into the town itself. Once or twice the governors directed the cellars in

* Walker, a true account, &c.

CHAP. V. the neighbourhood of the walls to be searched, apprehending the enemy might work themselves in that way. On one occasion these apprehensions proved true. A number of the besiegers introduced themselves into a cellar by means of a mine. The besieged got out by one of the gates, and creeping round the wall, blocked up the passage by which they had found entrance, and not one of these miners escaped. The besieged had to contend, among other difficulties with the treachery of many within the walls. Every night there were deserters who carried minute intelligence of the state of the town and all the circumstances connected with the defence. As the defence in a great measure rested with Walker, every artifice was employed to shake the confidence of the garrison in his constancy and fidelity. Traitors in the pay of James's generals, assuming the common disguise of fanatics, framed and propagated rumours calculated to bring both into discredit. They impudently asserted that while all others in the town were reduced to absolute famine, he had plenty of provisions stored in his house. Walker directed some soldiers to rise as if in a mutiny and search his house in the face of the whole town. By this means he confuted the calumny, and enjoyed more firmly than ever the confidence of the inhabitants.

Famine was every day making its progress within the walls, and consuming the small garrison much more than the efforts of the enemy. The only quarter from which relief could be expected, was the sea; and to that the anxious looks of the besieged were ever directed.—One Bennet had been sent to England by stealth, with a representation of their necessities and stedfast resolution. From the rising to the setting of the sun a crowd might be observed on the eastern rampart, which is washed by the lough that communicates with the sea, straining their eyes to the distant horizon, their bosoms agitated with the hope of observing some sail that might be the harbinger of relief. At length, on the 30th of June, no less than thirty vessels could be distinctly descried entering the

lough, and no doubt remained this was the expected fleet CHAP. V.
from England. What words can express the joyful emo-
tions with which all the spectators swelled at the sight? 1689.
One of the most active and alert among them climbed up
the steeple, and communicated by signals with the ships;
but what agonies of despair succeeded, when the fleet was
observed tacking about and moving out of the lough,
and withdrawing to the distant sea? We may picture to
ourselves the half-famished multitude pursuing with looks
of anguish the receding sails, watching them till they
became a mere speck in the horizon, not entirely giving
up all hope till they had completely disappeared. A mes-
senger was dispatched from the ships before they finally
set sail and departed. He contrived to swim into the
town and informed the inhabitants the fleet they had been
observing was composed of transports loaded with men,
arms, and all manner of provisions, under the command of
the unfeeling Kirk, who had deserted from James after
having so much contributed to blacken his government,
and was now employed by King William. Kirk assigned
as his reason for withdrawing without even an attempt to
succour the town, notwithstanding the means with which
the fleet abounded, the impossibility of any of the ships
forcing their passage down the river, on the narrowest part
of which, opposite a fort called Charles Fort, the besiegers
had fixed a boom, and erected other works. But had
Kirk's spirit of military enterprise and resolution been
equal to the ferocity and brutality of his character, he
could, notwithstanding these obstacles, have executed his
commission, and carried assistance to the town. He was
a worthy compeer to De Rosen. The boom was very
unskilfully framed, there being no good workmen or arti-
ficers in the besieging army. It had been originally con-
structed of oak, so as to be unable to float. One of fir
had been substituted; but favoured as Kirk was by wind
and tide, he might easily have broke it, though perhaps at
the expense of a few ships. This was the opinion of De

CHAP. V. Rosen himself*. However, he thought proper to move round with the whole of the fleet to the isle of Inch in Lough Swilly, and here he remained stationary for upwards of a month, though the inhabitants of Derry were the whole time enduring the last extremities of famine. Their condition may be judged of by the following table of provisions, and their prices, given us by Walker:—

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	s.	d.		s.	d.
Horse flesh sold for, per lb.	1	8	A lb. of salted hides	1	0
A quarter of a dog, fattened			A quart of horse blood	1	0
by eating the bodies of the			A horse pudding	0	6
slain Irish	5	6	A handful of sea weed	0	2
A dog's head	2	6	Ditto of chick weed	0	1
A cat	4	6	A quart of meal when found	1	0
A rat	1	0	A small flock, taken in the river,		
A mouse	0	6	not to be bought for money, or		
A lb. of greaves	1	0	purchased under the rate of a		
A lb. of tallow	4	0	quantity of meal.		

The time seemed fast approaching when these wretched men would have to turn canibals, and prey upon each other. Walker tells us, of a certain fat gentleman, who already began to be very uneasy, thinking many of the garrison looked upon him with a greedy eye, and, in his terror, hid himself for three days. Frequent messengers passed between Kirk and the town. A letter was brought from him by a boy, who contrived to tie it up in his garter. It contained what may be deemed an insulting exhortation to a starving people—"to husband well their provisions." They pressed him to attempt something for their relief, and informed him, "that they understood the boom was certainly broke, so that he might come up with ease." Different captains of merchantmen offered to sail down the river, and carry assistance to the place. The besieged built a boat, with an intent of launching it into the lough, and sending it to sea. It was driven back by showers of shot. This mode of communication could have no object, but to convince Kirk, ships might bring relief, in defiance

* A dispatch of his to James.—*Mr Pherson's Papers*, p. 209.

of the besieging army; for the passage by land to Inch, across the neck of the peninsula of Inishowen, was much shorter, and should seem, much easier. Kirk's pretence for remaining so long at Inch, was to attempt something on that side; but it does not appear that he ever did so during the protracted continuance of his abode there.

The garrison, and body of the inhabitants, were now at the last extremity. Individuals, pale and languid, and emitting a nauseous smell, as if infected with a pestilence, unable to support their feeble steps, often fell down dead in the streets. The garrison, which, at the commencement of the siege, consisted of seven thousand four hundred men, was reduced, at the end of July, to four thousand four hundred and fifty-six. But the constancy of the extraordinary man at their head was not shaken. On the 30th of the month, Walker, assuming his robes as a clergyman, mounted the pulpit in the cathedral, and, with the prophetic tone of an inspired man, foretold them a speedy deliverance; enumerating all the instances, in which the arm of the Almighty had interposed, in favour of his chosen people, and that the same Omnipotence would not fail to reward, in like manner, their heroic devotion to their religion, which might contribute so much to the interests of the Protestant faith; reciting, from the liturgy, those emphatic words, "there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God!" About an hour after the sermon, as the crowd was assembled on the eastern rampart, with desponding looks directed towards the sea, they descried three vessels entering the lough, and with all their sails spread steering towards the mouth of the river, which flowed to the town. At the same time, the confused cries of the besiegers, running from all sides to the river, informed them, an attempt was about to be made for their relief. Kirk had, at last, been prevailed upon by the captains of two merchantmen, and had assigned them the Dartmouth frigate as a convoy. As they passed, the whole artillery of Cutmore Fort thundered upon them; at the same time they were pressed by an irregular fire of mus-

CHAP. V. ketry from both sides of the river. Arrived at the boom, the foremost of the merchantmen broke it, but was driven
 1689. aground by the shock. The besiegers raised a shout of exultation. They rushed into the water, and pushed off every oar they could seize upon, to overwhelm the vessel in its distress. For a few minutes the whole scene was envelopped in smoke, occasioned by the incessant firing on both sides. During this awful interval, who can describe the emotions of the spectators on the rampart? In the emphatic words of an eye-witness (M'Kenzie), they looked black in the eyes of each other. At length, the victualler, which had got off by the rebound of her own guns, was seen emerging from the smoke, and triumphantly sailing amidst one universal cry, to the rampart, where the exulting multitude was prepared to receive it. She was immediately followed by her companion, and an immense quantity of meal from Scotland, and other provisions, landed, which were conveyed to the stores, to be distributed among the inhabitants. This was the termination of the siege. On the morning of the 1st of August, the besiegers had broken up their camp before the town, having withdrawn in the night, after destroying their great guns, and throwing twelve cart loads of arms and ammunition into the river. The citizens, having refreshed themselves, engaged some way in pursuit of them. De Rosen, conformably to the orders of his master*, pillaged and ravaged the whole country round Derry; and not only so, but, if we believe King, continued the track of desolation along the whole line of his retreat, burning every village and gentleman's house he met with, up to the gates of Dublin.

Siege
raised.

If we examine into the causes which enabled a town, in the condition of Derry, to resist so large a force assembled around it, after bestowing every praise on the heroic constancy of the garrison, which so many hardships, and all the horrors of famine could not weary out, we shall

* James to De Rosen.—*M'Pherson's Papers*, p. 208.

find, that, from the assailants, they suffered little, and had little to apprehend. Only eighty men, during the whole siege, fell by their blows. The rude crowd of Irish levies, which formed the great bulk of the besieging army, was cowardly in the extreme. This Walker, whose achievement would have been raised by the supposition of their courage, uniformly proclaims. Often the besieged called out to them, when they were labouring to make a breach in their walls, that they might spare themselves the trouble, as they were ready to throw open their four gates to them. They deserted, on every occasion, in whole troops. On the death of a captain in O'Neile's regiment, twenty-five of his men deserted with their horses, and the remainder refused to serve, saying, that they were engaged only to their captain, who was dead. These very bad troops were as badly supplied with arms. In the foregoing instance, when it was judged necessary to shoot one of the mutineers, there were not arms, in the whole regiment, for the execution, and they were obliged to borrow some from another regiment*. De Rosen complains, in all his dispatches, of the want of artillery and ammunition. Yet Walker tells us, "that they plied the besieged so close with great guns in the day-time, and bombs in the night, and sometimes in the day, that they could not enjoy their rest, but were hurried from place to place, and tired into faintness and diseases," which was the great cause of the destruction of the garrison. The bombs ploughed up the streets, and tumbled houses upon houses into ruins, and there were often several pounds of powder in a shell. Though the siege was carried on in the midst of summer, it appears the weather was extremely wet, and the besiegers had little convenience to shelter them, or enable them to bear up against it. Their trenches were filled with water, and they had to struggle amidst mire and dirt. Numbers were swept away by disease, which occasional deserters from the town served to extend and propagate.

* Dispatch of De Rosen.—*M'Pherson's Papers*, p. 211.

CHAP. V. These, and other circumstances, account for an event, which, at first view, appears miraculous.

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After having related the wonders of this memorable defence, it is a melancholy task reserved for the historian, to mention how the most distinguished in accomplishing it were rewarded by the government, for which they had endured so much, and for which there was every probability they would have fallen a sacrifice. The hero Walker, after the deliverance of the town, was sent to London by the inhabitants, with an address to King William. He was graciously received, and is said to have received five thousand pounds reward, but he obtained no preferment in that church which he had been the great means of saving from destruction in Ireland. Having acquired a taste for the art of war, he was afterwards induced to follow William to the battle of the Boyne, in order to observe and study the performances of a master of so much reputation. Unable to restrain his impetuosity, when he heard the thunder of artillery, which had so often been music in his ears, he mixed in the thickest of the fight, and received a mortal wound. When William heard of his death, he observed, with great composure, "Fool that he was! what business had he there?" I am sorry for a sovereign I admire, and whose services to Europe command the most honourable commemoration from the historian; but such, alas! is the gratitude of princes. Yet what Walker had done and endured, might have awakened some emotion, even in bosoms the most fortified by courtly education and habits. But not unhonoured shall be his name. The muse of history shall weave her richest chaplet for his head, and the champions of liberty, in all succeeding times, be animated by the recital of his achievements. His illustrious associate, Major Baker, died two months after the commencement of the siege. The foremost valour and distinguished constancy of Colonel Mitchelbourn pointed him out to the garrison as his successor. Mitchelbourn died in the commencement of the succeeding century, in the Fleet Prison, in London, where he was

suffered to languish for debts, contracted while he was CHAP. V.
soliciting some remuneration for his services, and the con-
siderable expenses he had been at in the course of them. 1689.

Kirk, who, as far as we can judge from what we read of his conduct, merited signal punishment for what he neglected to perform, was allowed unlimited discretion in disposing of the brave garrison. He dispersed the bands of brother warriors, who had so often fought and conquered at the foot of their native walls, draughted them into other regiments, degraded many of them to inferior ranks, according to the caprices of his bad, unfeeling nature, or the suggestions of his cold, spiritless tactics.

The siege of Derry had not long been undertaken when James received fresh supplies of troops and stores of all kinds from France. On the information the French ministry received of the wretched condition of the Irish army, and the state of warlike preparations in Ireland, they plainly discerned they could not accomplish their object of keeping up the war in the British dominions, without sending considerable reinforcements. No objection was started by James, and the intimation of his worthy panegyrists stands completely refuted. The reinforcements were brought in a fleet of twenty-eight ships of the line, which arrived in Bantry Bay about the beginning of May. Herbert, the English admiral, had been sent to intercept it; but, by pursuing a wrong course, he failed in this object, and the French were in Bantry Bay before they were seen by the English. The fleets came to an engagement, and the French claimed the victory, as they were certainly not defeated. They succeeded in landing their troops, and other supplies, and returned without being molested. This seemed to ascertain the advantage had been on their side, and, according to the custom of the nation, the advantage was blazoned forth as a signal triumph, and on the English element. Sir John Dalrymple, a Jacobite writer, in his own odd way, relates, but it should seem without any authority, that when the French ambassador informed James, that the English fleet had been defeated

Fight off
Bantry
Bay.

CHAP. V. by the French, James answered, with a patriotic peevishness, "*C'est bien la première fois donc.*" This, however, is the strain in which the monarch comments upon the event, in what we have of his Memoirs. Here, if any where, he would have deposited his feelings as an Englishman, and an English prince, who had himself commanded the fleets of England. "A few days after, the King received the *welcome* news of the arrival of the French fleet, in the bay of Bantry, and of the fight they had with the English, *who were beaten with as much ignominy*, as they had, with insolence and disrespect to the law of nations, attacked them." The royal writer has not condescended to explain to us *how* the law of nations was violated, by attacking the fleet of a power, then at open and declared war, conveying troops and warlike stores, for the purpose of conquering part of the dominions of the attackers.

James's
Irish parliament.

James's parliament met in Dublin, according to the terms of his proclamation on the 7th of May. This parliament was so constituted as almost entirely to exclude the English Protestant interest that might in any degree interfere with the views of the conveners of it. In the House of Peers, had all the members of it been assembled, a large majority of it would have been Protestants. The bishops, whom it was impossible immediately to displace, formed a large body, and all together ninety Protestant peers could be reckoned, against whom no more than forty-five Catholics could be well assembled. However, almost all the Protestants had fled the kingdom. There were only four or five among the temporal peers who attended, and four of the bishops. The most conspicuous among these last was Dr. Anthony Dopping, bishop of Meath, who signalised himself by an eloquent and vigorous opposition to the most obnoxious acts of this parliament. Every method was made use of to increase the number of Catholics in the assembly. A number of attainders were reversed, and several Catholics introduced by new creations. Chancellor Fitton was created baron of Gosworth;

Thomas Nugent, chief justice of the king's bench, baron of Riverstown; Justin M'Carty, viscount Mountcashel; Sir Valentine Browne, viscount Kenmare; Edward Cheevers, viscount Mountleinster; John Burke, baron of Bolphin. Some of these men were not unworthy of the honour. Sir Valentine Browne possessed an ancient and immense landed property, and his descendant has been dignified by our present gracious sovereign with the title which he received from King James. Nugent, besides his high situation on the bench, and considerable professional skill, was of a very ancient Irish family. His father had been Earl of Westmeath; and though he had been attainted for his supposed participation in the rebellion of the reign of Charles I. yet many of the attainders of those times were very questionable in respect of the strict justice and due impartiality, which presided in the passing of them. In addition to the methods resorted to, it was not doubted that upon an emergency the Catholic bishops would be called to the House of Peers, but the absence of the Protestants dispensed with the necessity of this expedient.

In the House of Commons, the systematic garbling of the corporations, carried on for many years by Tyrconnell, secured the returns of all the boroughs to the Catholic party. The returns of the counties were not so easily managed, as in the state of property at that period there were but very few Catholics who could be taken as freeholders; and notwithstanding the general flight of the Protestants, there could be few regular elections in which they would not have been the largest number: but as all the sheriffs were Catholics, it was contrived the sheriff should give notice to as many Catholic freeholders as he could muster to meet in a certain place without apprising the Protestants, and the voice of this clandestine meeting was called an election, and the member returned to the Commons. Only six Protestants throughout the whole kingdom crept into the House. The university of Dublin was allowed to return two of moderate abilities, and not over zealous in their religion.

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1689.

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The avowed purpose for which this parliament was convened amidst the urgent necessities of war, while the whole of the kingdom was far from being subdued to James, and a large invading army might every day be expected from England, was to rescind the Act of Settlement, and restore property to the state it was in before this act was passed. This act, notwithstanding the many irregularities in the framing of it, and the injustice of its operation in many individual cases, and though not quite thirty years had elapsed since it had been first enacted, yet from the strong support and countenance it received from the English government, and the frequent declarations issued by Charles II. and even James, pledging their royal words to maintain it, had already begun to operate as the great and final code for the regulation of property in the kingdom. Not only Protestants had purchased under it, but many Catholics propelled by the vigorous impulse of the English constitution, having acquired large fortunes by various branches of industry, notwithstanding the disadvantages they laboured under, had done the same, particularly in the province of Connaught, and much and extensive injustice would be the consequence of abrogating it. It must be owned, however, the argument in its favour was not quite so decisive at that period, when it might be said to be still green, and when so many persons were still alive whom it had reduced from opulence to indigence without trial or proof. Tyrconnell, and the French ambassador, were strenuous for its repeal, and they employed Nagle, the writer of the Coventry letter, referred to in a former chapter, and whom James had appointed his attorney-general in Ireland, to furnish out the reasonings against it. He penned the Act of Repeal passed in this parliament of James, and has compressed his reasonings with sufficient art and plausibility in the preamble of it. They show that the rebellion on which the Act of Settlement was founded, as far as it deserved the name, was the work of the very persons whom the act benefited, and occasioned by them for the very purposes of robbery and con-

fiscation, which the act confirmed. None of these reason- CHAP. V.
ings can have the slightest effect at this day. Time has
impressed its venerable seal on *the Act of Settlement*. It
is not only an essential part of the laws of the land, but
according to the great French lawyer Domat, of the law
of nature. The property which it conferred, and finally
regulated, stands upon the same basis as the property of
all the countries upon earth, prescription confirming the
sanctions of the legislature. The reasonings of Nagle do
not appear to have convinced James himself at the time.
He certainly was no friend to the proposed repeal. This
is manifest by the passage referred to in his Memoirs.
He looked upon the Act of Settlement as in some mea-
sure his own work. He had been, when Duke of York,
present at all the debates and discussions preliminary to
its being framed, and was one of the council when it was
passed. Archbishop King, and after him Harris, and
other Protestant historians, have given a very unfaithful
representation of the part he took in this parliament held
in his name and under his authority. They describe every
measure as originating from him and propelled in its pro-
gress by his influence. The very reverse was the truth.
Most of the acts passed, particularly all those which had
for their object to raise and promote the old Irish at the
expense of the English interest and ascendancy, were
decidedly against his inclinations; and he often interfered
personally, as openly as he durst, to oppose them, and
prevent their passing. He was not an Englishman against
France, to which he was secretly attached, but strongly
so against the Irish, whom he surveyed with no small
dislike and contempt. Not all their Catholic zeal could
reconcile him to them. There was something in their
wretched appearance, and in the general face of the
country, which inspired him with disgust, and he was
impatient till he got away from them. The parliament,
and all its acts were the work of a junto acting under
Tyrconnell and the French ambassador. So zealous were
they for the repeal of the Act of Settlement, that they

1689.

CHAP. V. would not trust the most furious zealots of their own party, who had had any concern in any purchase under it. One Gerrard Dillon, recorder of Dublin, whom King calls a furious Papist, lost his election for the city for no other reason.

1689.

James's
speech to
his parlia-
ment.

James met his parliament with a studied speech. He could not avoid paying some compliments to the nation whom he addressed, after bitterly complaining of the English, who, he says, "had basely betrayed him." But the topic he dwells upon, with the most predilection, is the ardour, generosity, and kindness of the French King, who had received him when forced out of England. He talked largely of liberty of conscience, and declared he designed "to have no other test or distinction, but that of loyalty." In his Memoirs, too, he says, he gave his royal assent with good will, only to the act for liberty of conscience. What liberty of conscience the Prince intended, who could rejoice at the repeal of the edict of Nantz, and all the barbarities which followed it, may easily be explained; the liberty of intriguing and practising against the established religion, where the Catholic happens not to be it, by multiplying converts, and by every art of seduction, till matters are ripe for an attempt at its overthrow, and where it is, the liberty of unequivocally persecuting all who dissent from it. Such, I believe, was the secret understanding of James's heart, and he pleased himself, and tried to cajole others with the sound of the words. He alluded, with some obscurity, to the proposed repeal of the Act of Settlement, and qualified his approbation of it, *as far forth as may be consistent with reason, justice, and the public good of his people.* He constantly attended in the House of Peers during the session to regulate and direct the forms and ceremonies of proceeding, as Chancellor Fitton was completely disqualified for the task, and there were few who had ever been in any parliament before.

Act of
Settlement
repealed.

It was proposed to grant some compensation to the purchasers under the Act of Settlement, and to those who might be deemed the *innocent* sufferers by its repeal. The

object of this proposal was evidently to appease the dis- CHAP. V.
content of many of the Catholic party, yet James men-
tions "Protestants*," as the persons he had chiefly in 1689.

view. Whatever were his royal intentions, it is clear they were not those of the framers of the Act of Repeal, where nothing is spoken of but the "unspeakable sufferings of the said Roman Catholics, natives of this country."

If *Protestant* sufferers were at all intended, the fund of compensation was oddly contrived, for it was no other than the properties of almost all the Protestants in the kingdom, whether deriving from possession before the Act of Settlement or after it. Lists were made out of persons to

the amount of near three thousand, including the Pro-
testants of the largest estates, who were to be attainted
and declared to have forfeited every thing to the King; Most of the
Protestants
in the
kingdom
attainted.
and as if these lists were not sufficiently ample and com-

prehensive, a clause was introduced, which must have extended to every individual Protestant, and even reached many of the Catholics themselves. By this clause, the real estates of all who "dwelt or staid in any place of the three kingdoms which did not own King James's power, or corresponded with any such in rebellion, or were aiding, abetting, or assisting to them from the 1st day of August 1688," are confiscated for the purposes of the act. So animated were the persons presiding in this parliament against those whom they attainted, that they even ventured to deprive James in the act of attainder of the power of pardoning them. This was long kept a secret from him; but when he was made acquainted with it, his high monarchical pride was excited, and he expressed much resentment to Nagle, whom he believed to be the penner of the clause of disability, nor has he concealed the offence it gave him in his Memoirs. In the list of attainted persons were two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, and many others of the highest title and rank; the sweeping clause in the Act of Repeal had scarcely any limits, for the regular inter-

* M'Pherson's Papers.

CHAP. V. course of the packets between England and Ireland did
not cease till the month of March 1689. In the month of
1689.

August before, the time fixed by the act, not only there had been no descent on the part of William, but even his design was not generally known, and at that time, there were few who must not have corresponded with their friends in England, or the north of Ireland condemned by the clause in question. Such a mass of property as was thus declared forfeited, would, no doubt, have constituted a very large fund for the persons who suffered by the repeal; but the compensation out of it was to be measured out by commissioners, according to what they deemed the merits of the claimants, so that the framers of the act reserved to themselves an ample discretion of rejecting or singling out for favour, and their discretion was uniformly exerted to strike the last blow at the object of their abhorrence, the English and Protestant interest. Thirty-five acts were passed before the parliament broke up. They established a regulation which cannot be deemed very unreasonable from a Catholic parliament, that all tithes paid by Catholics should be paid to the clergymen of their own religion. They declared no act of the English parliament should be binding in Ireland. This gave offence to James's English principles*. Animated by *their hatred* to England, and their wish to break off entirely the English connection, they prohibited the importation of English, Scotch, or Welch coals. With these effusions of blind Irish passion, or bigotted zeal, were joined some acts framed on just principles and of a salutary tendency. They laboured to open a direct intercourse with the British colonies in all parts of the world, allowing the free exportation and importation of all commodities to and from them. For the encouragement of trade and navigation, ample privileges were extended to all ships built in Ireland, and all sea-faring people and naval artificers coming to settle in the country. Schools were appointed to be founded

* M'Pherson.

in the principal sea-ports for the instruction of youth in the art of navigation and naval mathematics. CHAP. V.

The parliament was closed by a prorogation on the 18th of July, news arriving that a powerful army might every day be expected from England. It never met again. ^{1689.} Parliament prorogued.

James felt extremely the want of money, and he was sensible this want would press still more severely upon him in the course of the contest which was approaching, when he would have a large army to maintain. His parliament had granted to him a contribution of twenty thousand pounds per month, to be levied on land. He, from his own authority, ventured to levy twenty thousand more by proclamation on chattels. He had never paid a very strict regard to constitutional restrictions even in England, and in Ireland, which he looked upon as a country of barbarism, he was inclined to treat them with sovereign contempt. However, the universal poverty and desolation made this additional charge almost insupportable, and the cries of an oppressed population excited some of his Irish counsellors to remonstrate with him, and to put him in mind the laws invested him with no such power. This appeal to laws from Irishmen provoked him beyond measure. He answered in a rage, that he always understood levying of money belonged exclusively to him, "and if he could not do that, he could do nothing." In vain in his pecuniary distress he looked to France and the French ambassador for assistance. The penury of the French exchequer occasioned the most mortifying parsimony in this respect. Whatever little supply of money the fleet to Bantry Bay had brought, was lodged in the hands of the ambassador, who could not be moved by the humblest solicitations to part with the smallest sum, but after multiplied difficulties, and the strictest account of its intended application. James, therefore, ventured to issue a copper coinage, which he ordered to be received as equivalent for silver, as without this expedient he must have left his troops wholly without pay. The coinage was nominally copper, but was, in reality, a composition of the basest materials.—Old guns melted

Copper
coinage.

CHAP. V. down, and all sorts of old metal pillaged from the braziers' shops, and even the kitchens of the citizens. He carried
1689. this base coinage, sufficient to ruin the kingdom, to above one million and a half of pounds before his flight from Ireland. He complains with no inconsiderable ill-humour in his Memoirs, that while the Pope lavished upon him benedictions and prayers for his success, he saw all his embarrassments, and the ruin they brought upon him, without the smallest attempt for his relief in the way of money supplies. He had been since March in Ireland, and no force of any account had arrived from England to dispossess him.

William has been heavily censured for his protracted neglect of this essential part of the British empire, and a variety of motives more or less subtle and refined, have been attributed to him. The more shrewd and sagacious, among whom poor Sir John Dalrymple is eminently conspicuous, have, with all the elaborate malignancy of Tacitus, supposed he had two objects; first, a pretence for keeping together a standing army to awe the English nation; secondly, a scheme to enrich his followers and partizans by confiscations and forfeitures. The truth is, the importance of Ireland to the British empire at that time, was very imperfectly estimated, and might well be supposed to escape the attention of a foreign prince, whose mind had never moved out of the circle of continental affairs. The general misery which overran the country, the character of its inhabitants not very highly rated either for understanding, integrity, or military prowess, the very slender revenue which it produced, even in its best years, made many regard it rather as a burthen than an accession of strength to England; and though they could not entirely close their eyes to its importance as a means of annoyance at the back of the larger island which might have fallen into the hands of a foreign power at war, yet were they animated with little zeal to preserve it. The Whigs, who imagined they had reason to complain of William, availed themselves of the disregard for Ire-

land prevailing among the vulgar provincial English, and their aversion to military recruiting and the payment of impositions and taxes, to discourage any attempt for its reduction. There is in Dalrymple's Appendix a letter from Mr. Hampden to William, plainly telling him the conquest would not be worth the expense. With these misjudging friends of liberty, as they persuaded themselves they were, mixed many concealed Jacobites and factious zealots, enemies to all government, and they preached up the necessity of public economy, and husbanding the resources of the nation so eloquently and clamorously, as nearly to destroy the credit of the government, and overthrow the glorious Revolution. In these circumstances the design for rescuing Ireland from the power of James and his party, necessarily proceeded slowly, and met with many difficulties and obstacles in its progress. On one occasion, an officer commissioned to prepare supplies for the Irish expedition, was ordered to take up a thousand pounds from the custom-house at Chester, but he could find only six hundred pounds, and the collector declared he would be at no advance to the government. At last, however, the zeal and courage displayed by the northern Protestants in Ireland, and the glorious defence of the city of Derry in particular, excited the sympathy of the lowest ranks in England, and operated as a challenge on their pride. Ireland was no longer disregarded. The national voice pressed William to add to his other titles to immortality, that of deliverer of Ireland. The factious Whigs were obliged to give up part of their absurd parsimony. Supplies of money were provided. An extraordinary spirit of recruiting seized the multitude, insomuch that twenty-three new regiments for Ireland were completed in a remarkably short time. Old Mareschal Schomberg was fixed upon to command the expedition. He was more than eighty years of age; a season of life better fitted for repose, than for the activity, vigour, and decision of mind requisite in the operations of war; but the passion of those times was for these feeble, worn-out

CHAP. V.
1689.

CHAP. V. veterans. We have seen he was sought out by the early
 1689. friends of the Revolution as the main pillar of their hopes,
 and his coming over with William was hailed as a sure
 earnest of success.

The pedants of the military profession, the most arrogant and obstinate of all pedants, would have rejected with a sneer, the enterprise and alacrity, and buoyant genius of youth. To animate the veteran Schomberg, and pour, if possible, some life into his frigid veins, he was invited to the bar of the House of Commons. He was allowed a chair, and when he got up, and uncovered addressed the house, the Speaker returned to him compliments in the highest strain. The House voted to him a present of a hundred thousand pounds, and the King conferred upon him the ducal title and the order of the garter.—About the end of July he was on the borders of the Irish Sea, and slowly assembled round him an army and fleet of transports. He experienced innumerable difficulties and disappointments from the whole motley tribe of commissaries, and purveyors of provisions, of whom he bitterly complains in the letters which Dalrymple with his usual diligence has discovered, and published in his Appendix. At last, on the 12th of August, he sailed for the town of Carrickfergus with a fleet of ninety vessels, carrying about ten thousand men, horse and foot, indifferently supplied with artillery, ammunition, and other necessaries. He easily took Carrickfergus, and a garrison of two thousand five hundred men, that made but a feeble defence. From Carrickfergus he marched southwards, and as he proceeded his troops experienced extraordinary hardships.—The rainy season which set in during the siege of Derry had continued with increased violence after it. The roads were all broken up and intersected with bogs; the country covered with water. As, by the neglect of the officers in the proper departments, a suitable train of horses had not been provided, the men were obliged to drag the artillery and carriages after them through dirt and mire, and almost impassable roads, frequently carrying the

Arrival of
 Duke
 Schomberg
 in Ireland.

field-pieces on their shoulders. There was at the same time a great scarcity of provisions, and particularly of forage for the cavalry. The march of the army lay along the coast; and they might have been regularly supplied from the sea; but the same neglect and peculation which had intervened in other branches of the service, prevented this easy mode of supply. The country people fled at their approach, driving away their cattle, or leaving them slaughtered in heaps upon the roads, where they were often found by the soldiers in a state of putrefaction. The corn but newly reaped, lay rotting on the ground. The troops were of a description but ill-calculated to bear these hardships. The English, in their happy insular situation, had, for the most part, only heard of wars. Of the veterans of the Civil Wars, the race was almost entirely extinct; and in the late reigns few opportunities had occurred of acquiring experience and hardiness on the Continent. The soldiers had been lately recruited from the well-fed, comfortable English peasantry, and the scene which now opened upon them was little adapted to their habits and modes of life. The officers were much in the same situation,—young men, the sons of wealthy country gentlemen, to whom commissions had been given to attach their families to the new government. From continued fatigue and slender supplies of bad provisions arose diseases which insensibly began to spread from rank to rank. To these evils were added the want of discipline and subordination. The soldiers goaded by want, and little restrained by their octogenary general, abandoned themselves to pillage on every side, and preyed indiscriminately on friends and foes. The Protestants who were pretty thickly scattered in that part of the country, and who had approached an army of Englishmen sent by King William with perfect confidence of being protected, bitterly complained that they were little less plundered and aggrieved than they had been by the merciless irregular Irish bands under the command of De Rosen*. From all these circumstances

* See Plowden's Appendix; who has almost rivalled Dalrymple in diligence and extent of research.

CHAP. V. when Schomberg arrived at Dundalk, about the middle of
1689. September, he had with him an army every way disqualified for a stationary, defensive war. No great military perspicacity was required to decide, it became him rapidly to advance, and breaking through the confused host of Irish flying before him, reach Dublin before the setting in of winter. He had been considerably increased in point of numbers since his landing, notwithstanding the progress of disease. Some reinforcements had reached him from England. Kirk had joined him with all his troops from the neighbourhood of Derry. The Protestants, notwithstanding the ill-treatment many of them had received from a licentious soldiery, cherished too much zeal for the cause of William, in which that of their religion was involved, not to flock in crowds to his standard. On his arrival at Dundalk it was computed he had forty thousand men under his orders; a number which must have been greatly superior to any James could assemble against him. Yet, with this superiority of force, he chose to take up a defensive position in the town. His immense multitude of men he shut up in a close encampment, which he fortified "*selon toutes les règles de la guerre.*" From this nothing could prevail upon him to stir. In vain King William by repeated letters urged him to advance and hazard a battle. The Irish who had fled beyond Drogheda, no sooner heard of the sudden stop in his march, than they returned and tried to provoke him by noisy challenges and bravadoes, according to the sanguine enthusiastic character of the nation. His phlegm, the consequence of old age and pedantic habits of war, was not to be shaken. The result might have been expected. His encampment pitched in a moist situation, and exposed to an Irish winter, became one great hospital, and he had every day to send multitudes of his sick to Belfast. The winter had not reached its close when he had lost ten thousand men by disease alone, with little or no annoyance from the enemy. James's army, who chose to have a fortified encampment too, to observe that of Schomberg, suffered nearly as much. Thus passed the winter on both

sides. All parts of Ireland were delivered over to the miseries of a petty predatory warfare. CHAP. V.

This winter appeared in England a man of some celebrity, whom I have already had occasion to pass under review. This was no other than the regicide Edmund Ludlow. No sooner did he hear of the success of the Revolution than he quitted his retirement in Switzerland, and hastened to England in the full confidence of being received with open arms by its illustrious authors, as a partaker in the same principles with themselves. The indignant and humiliating repulse he met with affords another illustration of the wise, temperate views and principles which I have explained as uniformly guiding them. The foundation of this man's preposterous reasonings and criminal conduct was that favourite tenet of licentiousness, the sovereignty of the people, in whose name he presumed to overturn the ancient canonized government of his country, and even sign the death-warrant of his sovereign. He imagined the Revolution which had just taken place, though less violent, was the mitigated offspring of the same doctrine, and that he would be received as a professor, though he had carried the deductions a little further. He was quickly undeceived. Having ventured to appear publicly in London, notwithstanding he stood attainted of high treason by act of parliament, for the murder of King Charles I. it was moved in the House of Commons, the 6th of November, that the King should be addressed to have him apprehended. The motion was carried unanimously. Several speakers addressed the House on the subject; not one hinted the most remote approbation of the principles on which Ludlow had acted. "To what end do we raise taxes upon the people," said Sir Joseph Tredenham, "but to support the government. Now we are setting things in order, shall we be made the victims of the passions of this man, and of those accomplices who are now comforting, aiding, and abetting him? I am for the public security, and it is to that end I stand

1689.
Digression
on Ludlow,
and the
rebellion.

CHAP. V. up. I would address the King*." Not one member
1689. interposed a word in his favour. Sir Edward Seymour
was chosen to carry up the address. William answered
without the least hesitation, "that the address was so rea-
sonable, and the desire so just, that he would order a pro-
clamation to be issued out immediately for that purpose."
Here was the harmonious concurrence of king and parlia-
ment in establishing a broad distinction between the
sober Revolution of 1689, and the mad, wicked Revolu-
tion of the reign of Charles I. As the great object of this
work is to determine and define the true nature and cha-
racter of the first, some comments on the second will not
be deemed impertinent in this place, in which the opinions
of Mr. Fox on this part of our history will naturally come
under consideration. The deserved authority of his great
name might introduce confusion between events which, I
maintain, have no manner of connection or resemblance.
They who ventured to bring their King to a public trial
and death, not only broke through the laws and constitu-
tion of their own country, and the system of manners and
opinions flowing from them, but set at defiance the reli-
gion and jurisprudence of the whole European society,
which surround the person of a king with inviolable sanc-
tity. Such a revolution could be attempted to be justified
only by the principle which Ludlow and his associates
urged in its defence, a principle which has no assignable
limits, which has been used to supersede not only the
obligations of law, but even of morality,—*the will of the
people*. How different the Revolution of which I write
the history, which, never going farther than the imperious
dictates of an over-ruling necessity, never sought to jus-
tify itself on any other principle. Yet have the two been
sometimes brought together on the same line, as similar in
their character, and congenial in principle. It cannot be
concealed that Mr. Fox's work has had a considerable ten-

* Grey's Debates.

dency to favour the delusion. Considered from his rank in the state, and the superiority of his talents, as a paramount authority on the subject of the English constitution, his general praises of Ludlow, the most impudent of the regicides, have been construed as an approbation of the act of putting the King to death, and a presumption that such an act, however contrary to the forms, was not wholly alien to the spirit of that constitution which Mr. Fox had so attentively studied, and could so eloquently illustrate. His praises of Ludlow admit of an easy explanation, when it is considered the class of men from whom he has uniformly selected his favourites, all rebels to the government of his country, some at open war with it as a state,—Algernon Sydney, the American Washington, &c.

The inference arising from his repeated praises of Ludlow and Sydney receives additional countenance from the manner in which he has commented upon the trial and execution of the King. Before I offer any remarks on the passage, I will transcribe part of it:—"The execution of the King, though a far less violent measure than that of Lord Stafford, is an event of so singular a nature, that we cannot wonder, that it should have excited more sensation than any other in the annals of England. This exemplary act of substantial justice, as it has been called by some, of enormous wickedness by others, must be considered in two points of view. First, was it not in itself just and necessary? Secondly, was the example of it likely to be salutary or pernicious? In regard to the first of these questions, Mr. Hume, not perhaps intentionally, makes the best justification of it, by saying, that while Charles lived the projected republic could never be secure. But to justify taking away the life of an individual, upon the principle of self-defence, the danger must not be problematical and remote, but evident and immediate. It must be confessed, however, on the other side, that if the republican government had suffered the King to escape, it would have been an act of justice and generosity wholly unexampled; and to have granted him even his life would have been one among the more rare

CHAP. V. efforts of virtue." After some further observations on the first question he proposed to discuss, Mr. Fox proceeds to the second. Towards the conclusion of the whole argument he has these remarkable words:—"After all, however, notwithstanding what the more reasonable part of mankind may think upon this question, it is much to be doubted whether this singular proceeding has not, as much as any other circumstance, served to raise the character of the English nation in the opinion of Europe in general. He who has read, and still more, he who has heard in conversation, discussions upon this subject by foreigners, must have perceived, that even in the minds of those who condemn the act, the impression made by it has been far more that of respect and admiration than that of disgust and horror." He further speaks of it as of an act of *magnanimity and splendour*, of which it could be truly said, "that it was not done in a corner."

In the first part of the argument, Mr. Fox considers the question merely as that of a common individual tried upon a certain charge of criminality. That this was his view of the subject, is evident from the words "a measure far less violent than that of Lord Stafford," a private person, however exalted in rank. Now, the justice or injustice of this individual's suffering under the charge, he does not represent as depending on the proofs alleged in support of the charge, on the correspondence of the charge with a pre existing law, on the competence of the tribunal to try and sentence the individual under the laws and whole jurisprudence of the country. These questions, Mr. Fox sets entirely aside, and recognizes as a principle, that if it could be proved the taking away the life of the individual was not problematically or remotely, but evidently and immediately necessary to the security of the *projected* republic, the measure would have been *just*. What then becomes of the old and consecrated maxim, *Fiat justitia, ruat scelum?* Here, not the security of a *projected* republic, but not even the salvation of the globe and all its inhabitants is allowed to countervail against an act of injustice. Consequences are not allowed to influence

at all a question of justice or injustice. What is the mean- CHAP. V.
 ing in the subsequent paragraph, of “an act of justice
 wholly unexampled?” Unexampled generosity is a usual
 phrase, but “unexampled justice,” sounds to my ears very
 harsh, and is, I venture to say, a very incorrect expression.
 Considering the question merely as that of a common
 individual tried and sentenced, I call upon our historical
 regicides to answer and disprove the proposition of the
 Earl of Northumberland, pronounced at the very time,
 “That the greatest part, even twenty to one of the people
 of England were not yet satisfied whether the King did
 levy war against the Houses first, or the Houses first against
 him; and besides, if the King did levy war first, they had
 no law extant, or that could be produced, to make it
 treason for him so to do;” “and for us, my lords,” con-
 cluded the noble Earl, very modestly, but surely very
 logically, “to declare it treason by an ordinance, *when the
 matter is not yet proved, nor any law in being to judge it by,*
 seems to me very unreasonable*.” And what was this
projected republic, the security of which would justify the
 public trial and execution of a king? Mr. Fox himself
 will inform us:—“*From the execution of the King to the
 death of Cromwell, the government was, with some varia-
 tion of forms, in substance monarchical and absolute, as a
 government established by a military force will almost invari-
 ably be.*” We need only have recourse to the pages of his
 admired Ludlow, to be satisfied whether this *establishment
 of a military force* did not precede the execution, and was
 not the main engine by which it was, in reality, procured,
*in opposition to a decided majority of even the House of
 Commons.* This is the manner in which the republican
 Ludlow relates, what at the time was called *Colonel
 Pride’s purge.*—“Notwithstanding which, the corrupt party
 in the House, (a majority not ready to fall in with their
 factious views, is always *a corrupt party*, in the phrase-
 ology of such men,) having bargained for their own and the

* Parliamentary Hist. v. xviii. p. 492.

CHAP. V. nation's liberty, resolved to break through all hazards and inconveniences to make good their contract, and after twenty-four hours' debate, resolved, by *the plurality of votes*, that the King's concessions were ground for a future settlement.—The day following, some of the principal officers of *the army* came to London, with expectation that things would be brought to this issue, where we agreed that *the army* should be drawn up next morning, and guards placed in Westminster Hall, the Court of Requests, and the lobby, that none might be permitted to pass into the House but such as had continued faithful to the public interest. Colonel Pride commanded the guard that attended at the parliament doors, having a list of those members who were to be excluded, preventing them from entering into the House, and securing some of the most suspected under a guard provided for that end, in which he was assisted by the Lord Grey of Grooby, and others, who knew the members*,” &c.

After this, is it not a solemn mockery of language to talk of a republic? The truth is, this supposed republic was long before the execution, and to the death of Cromwell, (according to the statement of Mr. Fox himself,) a pure military despotism, *with some variation of forms*, at first the licentious despotism of the army and principal commanders, and then the single despotism of Cromwell himself; for scarcely four years had elapsed, when he became tired and impatient of *these forms* of a republic, and at the head of his soldiers turned the whole tribe of republicans, the whole of those who sat as the Commons of England, out of doors. Then Ludlow and his associates lifted up their eyes and hands to Heaven, and exclaimed against this military violence, forgetting how they themselves had supplanted and put to death their lawful anointed King.

It has been truly said, there is nothing new under the sun—Ludlow, Harrington, Algernon Sydney, and their

* Mem. v. i. p. 260, 270.

party, were the exact prototypes and regular precursors of CHAP. V.
Brissot, Roland, Vergniaud, and the other philosophic
legislators of our days. If we trace the moral elegies of
these men, we shall find, that they easily reconcile them-
selves to any thing in the way of military encroachment or
popular excess, while they serve their own ends; while
their vanity, if not their ambition, is gratified; while they
are allowed to figure and exercise importance on the public
stage. Nothing then is milder, or more extenuating than
their expressions of censure: it is "the effervescence of
the popular mind, a torrent destined to extend fertility
around, but just overflowing its banks at its first outset."
But when the violence comes to themselves, and they are
hurled to death and ignomy, by precisely the same means as
produced the downfall of their former superiors, then com-
mence their pathetic lamentations or indignant invectives,
their edifying discourses on the necessity of subordination
and submission. When we read the indignant strictures
of Ludlow on the usurpation of Cromwell, his reflections
on the lowness of his birth and parentage, we think
we hear la Citoyenne Roland exclaiming, as she mounted
the fatal scaffold, "*O liberté! que de crimes on com-
met en ton nom!*" O liberty! how many crimes are
committed in thy name! Words which are thought to
indicate a high republican temper of mind. It does
not appear that this good lady was much affected by the
sufferings of the wretched Queen, the daughter of so many
kings and emperors, dragged by an impious mob from the
height of human greatness and prosperity to the lowest pit
of misery. She found terms to excuse and palliate all
that.—Every thing went on pretty well, and liberty and
the republic were tolerably well maintained as long as her
husband was in the enjoyment of the title and emolu-
ments of a principal minister; and she, at the head of the
literary and fashionable coteries of Paris, to which many
of our distinguished countrymen at the time resorted, to
admire her person and manners, and derive edification
from her discourses.

CHAP. V. Throughout the whole argument, Mr. Fox has thought proper to consider the public trial and execution of a king in no other light than any similar transaction, in which only a private individual was concerned. This he repeatedly inculcates, and, accordingly, the publicity and the solemnity of the deed, he represents as no slender extenuation of it, supposing it not to have been strictly warranted by the principles of justice. "Among the modes of destroying persons in such a situation, there can be little doubt, but that adopted by Cromwell, and his adherents, is the least dishonourable. Edward II. Richard II. Henry VI. Edward V. had none of them long survived their deposal; but this was the first instance, in our history, at least, where, of such an act, it could be *truly said*, that it was not done in a corner."

Now, I am persuaded, the friends to the peace and good order of society will see the matter in a very different light. The assassination, or private destruction of a king, is a crime no doubt of great enormity, but it is a crime which goes no farther. A king cannot be brought to a public trial, and death, without an overthrow of the whole scheme of society, without a rupture of all the moral and religious ties, by which public tranquillity is maintained. With a view to this public tranquillity, our law has laid it down as a maxim, that the king can do no wrong; and a maxim, at first view, contrary to the common experience of life, and almost to common sense, will be found, on mature reflection, full of the deepest wisdom, absolutely necessary to the preservation of that order which involves the security of the meanest individual in his life and possessions. Mr. Fox sees nothing in this occurrence but a common transaction, which could not have been avoided. He ventures to seat it on the same principle as was brought forward to justify the pure and bloodless revolution of 1689—necessity. "To have granted the King his life would have been one among the more rare efforts, an act of justice and generosity wholly unexampled." This is the manner in which he treats a deed, which no less asto-

nished the age which witnessed it, by its audacity, than it CHAP. V.
has ever revolted the good and wise, by its wickedness and
atrociousness. But he does not stop here. After having con-
sidered the execution of the King as an event almost
unavoidable, he is so warmed by the subject, that he does
not hesitate to adorn it with glory, and represent it as a
transaction, of which every Englishman ought to be
proud. "He who has read," &c. "It served to raise the
character of the English nation in the opinion of Europe
in general."

It is certain, Englishmen, in former times, often indulged
themselves in a light, inconsiderate way of talking on this
great event in our history, not to make use of harsher
terms, which produced upon foreigners precisely the im-
pression which Mr. Fox has stated. They were persuaded,
it was regarded by the English themselves as a splendid
epoch in the history of their liberty. Some examples of
this miserable vapouring may be mentioned. The late
Horace Walpole, Lord Orford, may be regarded as a sort
of sensitive plant, the sickly growth of extreme civiliza-
tion. He would have shrunk from the bare notion of
civil tumult and confusion, as affecting his own times and
country; and, accordingly, when there was some danger of
their approaching our shores, none was more prompt in
taking the alarm, or more vehement in invoking all those
laws and forms, which he had before treated so lightly.
For this man, in early life, lolling in his voluptuous retire-
ment of Strawberry Hill, assisted in producing the im-
pression upon foreigners which Mr. Fox has noticed, by
the vapouring nonsense he scribbled about the little
regard which ought to be paid to the forms that protect
perjured kings. Mr. Horne Tooke was a plant of hardier
growth. He had less to lose, and more to gain, by civil
confusion. He was not, therefore, at the subsequent period
referred to, so prompt to take the alarm, or so eager to
extend it. It will not be thought very extraordinary, that
he should have written, with complacency, of the execu-
tion of Charles I. and extolled, in high terms, the man he

CHAP. V. calls President Bradshaw, the chief of the regicides. This ——— he has contrived to do, in a work in which such topics should hardly seem to have found place, in the opening of his grammatical dialogue, entitled, “Diversions of Purley.” But it may certainly excite surprise, that an *English gentleman*, like Mr. Fox, of his mild disposition and distinguished humanity, should have continued a vaunting strain, which, in other times, would only have excited a smile, or, perhaps, provoked a frown, in the more reflecting, after having witnessed the fatal effects of the impression, produced upon foreigners, in a country not many miles from our shores. It is certain, the base and cowardly murder of the unfortunate Lewis, and his Queen, and the multiplied horrors affecting all classes of life, which attended these deeds, themselves of sufficient enormity, were, in a great degree, the result of this impression. The vainest of nations, roused and stimulated by the language of English writers and English men, by what Mr. Fox terms the respect and admiration of Europe in general, directed towards England, exclaimed, “The English have killed a king, we will kill a king too.” In the *false* enthusiasm, but *real* wickedness, of national vanity strongly excited, they perpetrated a murder, as mean, in many of its circumstances, as atrocious in others. Without any provocation from resistance, without any of the heat which civil war and contest may be supposed to produce; without any danger from within or without, presumed, imagined, or even pretended, they dragged the mildest and best-intentioned of sovereigns, like an unoffending lamb, to the butchery; a sovereign, whose whole life had been a life of concession to his people; who had carried to the highest point his deference to their opinions and wishes, and who, by the testimony of a man well qualified to know*, refused to preserve his own life at the price of shedding their blood.

* These were the words of Tallien, as I have heard them related:—
 “Ah! le B——; il auroit du ordonner à ses dragons de sabrer cette exécration

However inconsistent in principle it must ever appear, CHAP. V. for men, professing themselves the enthusiastic friends of liberty, and affecting to carry their devotion to it so far, as not to be able to bear any species of monarchy, but to be satisfied only with a republican government, for these men to panegyrisé the barefaced military usurpation of Cromwell; yet we cannot be much surprised at such conduct, after the glaring example of our great poet, Milton. We have seen similar incense burnt at the shrine of Buonaparte, by these self-called republicans. The secret may be, that the ancient established government of their country, being the great object of antipathy and animosity to this description of republicans; whoever promotes the effect of these sentiments, is received and hailed as an ally, though his rule be ever so remote from any sane notion of a republic. Mr. Fox faithfully follows in the track of Milton. His style assumes all the glow of fondness and predilection at the mention of Cromwell, and he celebrates, with manifest complacency, the era of his government, "as one of the most brilliant in English history." I am not prepared to dispute this proposition; but I confess it is not without a feeling of melancholy, that I trace the disposition, which the fond assertion of it indicates, in such men as Mr. Fox. Enjoying all the advantages of order and tranquillity, in the lap of ease and comfort, cultivating beautiful accomplishments, the growth and ornament of peaceful times, he delights in celebrating civil war and bloodshed, and a fanatical misnamed republic, where the lowest mechanics, converted into brutal soldiers, trampled not only on birth and rank, but on refinement and elegance and classical endowments. In this spirit, he is

canaille, que nous étions obligés d'appeller le peuple souverain. Mais il vouloit épargner le sang de son peuple, et il a perdu la vie:"—He ought to have ordered his dragoons to cut to pieces the execrable rabble, whom we were obliged to call *the sovereign people*. But, no; he would not shed the blood of his people; and he accordingly lost his life. "*Quel éloge de la vertu, de la bouche du crime!*" exclaimed a French lady, when she heard these words repeated. What an eulogy of virtue from the lips of guilt!

CHAP. V. positive "the evils of the republican times have been
— greatly exaggerated." The name of General Monck calls up in his breast unusual spleen, and even malignancy. At the recollection of his being the restorer of monarchy in England, all the gentleness of his nature forsakes him, and he dips his pen in gall. Bishop Burnet, notwithstanding the high preferment in the church which he enjoyed, much above his merits, had led the way in this strain of bitterness and detraction on General Monck. Hume has the following note on the subject, which is perfectly applicable to Mr. Fox:—"This year (1670) on the 3rd of January, died George Monck, Duke of Albemarle, at Newhall, in Essex, after a languishing illness, and in the sixty-third year of his age. He left a great estate of £15,000 a-year in land, and £60,000 in money, acquired by the bounty of the King, and increased by his own frugality in his later years. Bishop Burnet, who, agreeably to his own factious spirit, treats this illustrious personage with great malignity, reproaches him with avarice. It is, indeed, a singular proof of the strange power of faction, that any malignity should pursue the memory of a nobleman, the tenor of whose life was so unexceptionable, and who, by restoring the ancient, and legal, and free government to three kingdoms, plunged in the most destructive anarchy, may safely be said to be the subject in these islands, who, since the beginning of time, rendered the most durable and most essential services to his native country. The means, also, by which he achieved his great undertakings, were almost entirely unexceptionable. His temporary dissimulation, being absolutely necessary, could scarcely be blameable," &c. So thought Hume, and so must think every reflecting man, who does not carry a wrong bias on his mind; yet, under the pretence of this temporary dissimulation, has Mr. Fox vilified his memory. *Pretence* is the true word, for, however great it may have been, rising, perhaps, to the pitch of the grossest hypocrisy, Mr. Fox has shewn, in the instance of Lord Shaftsbury, that he could be induced to forgive it, and pass it over without

any particular censure. He could be reconciled and pro-
pitiated by the merits of a long, seditious, and turbulent
opposition to government. But the real delinquency
which provoked so much spleen, was what Hume thought
the greatest service rendered by a subject to his country—
having restored the ancient monarchy out of the chaos of
a frightful anarchy. For some of the circumstances and
particulars of this anarchy, embracing the period of the
Civil Wars, and Cromwell's government, we may refer to
Ludlow. The desolation, occasioned by the Civil Wars,
may be estimated by the account he gives of what hap-
pened to his own father's house:—"Being upon my return,
I took with me my hangings, pictures, best beds, and other
things, which my father's servants had so well concealed,
at the first breaking out of the war, in a private part of
my house, that they escaped the search of the enemy, who
had plundered all they could find, broken all the windows,
taken away the beds, and pulled up the boards in most
parts of the house*." This is only a particular instance;
but I suppose there were few gentlemen's seats which did
not experience similar treatment, or, at least, were not
exposed to it from one or other of the parties at war. At
the same time, Basing, the beautiful seat of the Marquis
of Winchester, was burnt to the ground, after having been
plundered of all its furniture, library, and other valuables,
to the amount of £200,000. What would have been
Mr. Fox's emotions, had he seen his villa of St. Anne's
Hill treated in this manner?—he, who adverts so lightly to
the calamities of civil war, and thinks a republican govern-
ment so cheaply purchased by them. In this beloved
republican government, how would he have endured the
company, perhaps the insolent and brutal airs of military
superiority, of such men as a General Harrison, a Colonel
Pride, or a Cornet Joice? Or if he descended to the
"brilliant era of Cromwell's government," how would he
have been pleased with it, as carried on by his majors-ge-

* Memoirs, vol. i. p. 122.

CHAP. V. neral, described by Ludlow*, whose administration recalls to us that of certain prefects of the departments in our own times?—"In the mean time, the majors-general carried things with unheard-of insolence in their several precincts, decimating to extremity whom they pleased, and interrupting the proceedings at law, upon petitions of those who pretended themselves aggrieved; threatening such as would not yield a ready submission to their orders, with transportation to Jamaica, or some other plantations in the West Indies, and suffering none to escape their persecution, but those that would betray their own party, by discovering the persons that had acted with them, or for them." Then follows an anecdote, which shows this oppression was not confined to those of higher rank, or who might be supposed to belong to the royal party, but reached to the common farmers in the country:—"And here I cannot omit to mention a farmer in Berkshire, who, being demanded to pay his tenth, desired to know of the commissioners, in case he did so, what security he should have for the other nine parts," &c. Such is the testimony of the *republican* Ludlow. For this was the regicide committed, which so much delighted Mr. Horne Tooke, and which Mr. Fox thinks raised us so much in the opinion of Europe in general. For this was the whole code of our civil laws torn in pieces, and all parts of the island ravaged by civil war.

Having expressed my sorrow at the part which Mr. Fox has taken in the discussion, I cannot forbear indulging a similar sentiment respecting that elegant and acute philologist, Mr. Horne Tooke. With all his faults (and he had abundance), his unmatched vanity and egotism, there is no lover of letters who must not regret his life should have been so ingloriously and unprofitably spent, as pandering to the folly of a few young men of rank, whom he flattered with the persuasion, they were born to reform and new-model the laws and government of their country,

* *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 559.

instead of pursuing those ingenious grammatical dis- CHAP. V.
veries, which would have contributed so much to his real
celebrity.

The contrasted history of the two revolutions which happened in England, in the course of the seventeenth century, further illustrated by the events which have passed under our own eyes, in a neighbouring country, teach an important political lesson. It is not by violence, by pulling to pieces an ancient government, and shedding the blood of a king, that a real, durable revolution is accomplished. These *radical reforms*, the expression of our demagogues for destruction and overthrow, are not the most efficacious. Scarcely eleven years elapsed, from the execution of Charles I. and the ferocious proscription of the whole family of Stuart, when, after the usual interval of military despotism, the family of Stuart returned: and, if they did not return with more than the plenitude of power, possessed by the loftiest of their ancestors; if all constitutional limits were not swept away before them, and an absolute despotism delivered over to them, we may thank the moderation of Lords Clarendon and Southampton. Such a scheme would have met with no obstruction from the people of England, who would rather have received it with favour and applause. Not twenty-five years have passed since the detestable murder of Lewis XVI. which would, no doubt, have been extended, if possible, to that of the whole Bourbon family; and that family are once more upon the throne. What degree of authority they will resume, and what measure of just punishment they will inflict, is not yet, perhaps, entirely disclosed. The Revolution of 1689 was, in the highest degree, temperate and sober. It was imperfect, says a venerable reformer among us. Yet, mark how effectual it has been;—the family it gently let down from the throne has never returned. It is now extinct. The Revolution has not been changed in any one of its essential dispositions. It is, at this moment, the living source of our freedom and happiness, and every good Englishman has nothing to

CHAP V. pray for, for the government it established, than in the
words of Father Paul, when his dying faltering lips
1690. adverted to his country, *Esto perpetua*.

I resume my narrative.

At the return of spring, William, annoyed and provoked with the inactivity and languor of Schomberg, resolved to take in person the command of the army in Ireland. He was at last sensible of the necessity there was to secure the Revolution, of bringing both the islands which form the body of the British empire under his dominion. He received intelligence, which showed him the fatal effects of Schomberg's delay, and apprised him of what further difficulties he would have to encounter, if dilatory measures were pursued. When Schomberg landed in Ireland, the summer before, the army of James was of no account. His Irish levies were absolutely contemptible, and the number of his French auxiliaries very small. But by the delay, the French monarch obtained time to transport considerable reinforcements to his assistance. In the beginning of March five thousand chosen French troops arrived at Kinsale, and proceeded to join his army. At the particular and earnest solicitation of James, De Rosen had been recalled; and Count Lauzun, a man of some military reputation, arrived with the troops as commander-in-chief in Ireland.

The parliament in England had been dissolved, and William, the beginning of this year, met a new one, in which the Tories had the ascendant, conformably to the prevailing sentiments of the nation. From them he received a more liberal support than he had experienced in the parliament of the Revolution from the Whigs, who before its close had abandoned themselves to the spirit of factious discontent. The Tories had not manifested a very forward disposition to seat him on the throne; yet, being in fact so seated, they were not wanting in spirit to maintain him on it. Considerable supplies were voted for the prosecution of the Irish war. William, however, was for some time detained by the arrangements he had to esta-

blish for the government of England during his absence. CHAP. V.
He embarked at High-Lake on the 11th of June, attended
by a large fleet of transports escorted by six ships of war. 1690.
He was met at Belfast by the Duke of Schomberg, and Arrival of
had an opportunity of observing there the effect of his William.
languid and stationary tactics, in the crowds of sick with
which the town was encumbered. He was met, too, by a
greater man, the Rev. Mr. Walker, the immortal defender
of Londonderry, well chosen to congratulate him on his
arrival, in the name of the body of the Irish Protestants,
bearing in his person a testimony of their unconquerable
resolution and constancy. William assembled his army
scattered in cantonments round Belfast, and immediately
commenced his march to the capital. He omitted no art
to encourage his soldiers, and increase their attachment to
his person. He ordered the army to pass in review before
him; and during the whole time the several regiments
were filing off, was perpetually in motion from one station
to another. He rode in freely among them, making
repeated inquiries as to the health and condition of the
men. While engaged in these inquiries, an order was
brought to him to sign for wine for his table,—“No,”
exclaimed he, in the hearing of all the men, “I will drink
water with my soldiers.” He slept every night in his
tent, and was on horseback from sun-rise to sun-set.
During the progress of the march, he would sometimes
bring up the rear with parental anxiety; at others he was
seen at the head of the most advanced parties, at once
exciting the tenderness, and inflaming the ardour of the
troops. He at the same time adopted all the precautions,
which Schomberg had neglected, to preserve the country
people from the licentious depredations of the soldiery.
The orders to that effect were read at the head of every
regiment, and any flagrant contravention to them punished
with instant death.

Different detachments of James's army retreated before
William as he advanced, and fell back on their main body.
On the 30th of June, William's army moving at break of

CHAP. V. day in three columns towards the river Boyne; James's
1690. was discovered extended in two lines along the southern
banks of the river, in a strong position. The town of
Drogheda on William's side of the river, but occupied
by James's troops, afforded a strong support to the right
wing of the latter. The banks of the river before him
were extremely rugged and difficult to be climbed up.
Rows of hedges then extended to a rising ground, on
which stood the village of Donore, which commanded the
whole scene of action; on the left was a deep morass,
which insinuated itself by branches to the front. Among
all these fastnesses was James's army distributed. Three
miles below the morass was the bridge of Slane; but the
only communication through the morass was by a narrow
tract of ground lying a good deal to the back of it. Behind
this strong position, nearly in a line with the village of
Donore, was the pass of Duleek, which would afford the
best protection to a retreating army, as it could not be
penetrated by more than ten men a-breast. James, seeing
his enemy approach, was in a state of some uncertainty
and fluctuation. His army was not superior in number,
and certainly very inferior in the quality of the troops.
William had been attended from England by a number of
Dutch, Danes, and Germans, who had acquired experience
and hardihood in the course of the continental wars. He
had likewise a body of two thousand French Protestants,
who would encounter their countrymen in James's service
with all the zeal of religious fanaticism and revenge. Of
these French Protestants, it may be observed, whether to
their honour or their shame I will not determine, that they
were, perhaps, the only Frenchmen who ever fought
against the standards of France with real spirit and zeal;
so deep and bitter was the sense of that persecution which
had driven them from their country. Against these excel-
lent troops James had none he could place any reliance
upon, but his French auxiliaries. The undisciplined
natives constituted numbers, and little more. In these
circumstances he was strongly advised to retreat, and

allow the strength of his rival to waste itself in a country presenting a number of natural difficulties, and where the mass of the inhabitants was hostile to him. The line of the Shannon offered a new line of defence; and if the scene of war was carried beyond it, there was scarcely an individual who did not execrate the religion and politics of England, and who would not exert himself in assistance to James, and annoyance to William. On the other hand, James's French allies were impatient of the savage dismal life they were compelled to lead in Ireland. The generals and officers could not brook the want of every gaiety, amusement, and comfort. Count Lauzun, who had been more famed for the triumphs of gallantry in a polite and dissolute court than for the hard-earned laurels of war, desired a pretext for returning, and some would not be wanting whether he lost or gained the battle. James was secretly moved by nearly the same sentiments. Fashioning his opinion to his inclinations, he had persuaded himself that if he got back to France, he could from thence best direct and animate the movements of his partisans in the different parts of his former monarchy, and avail himself of any favourable occasions that might present themselves to recover his crown. Under these impressions, and his eager desire to quit Ireland, he listened to the representations of Lauzun and the French officers, which were unanimous for risking a battle on the banks of the Boyne. That impetuous valour hastening to a decision, and willing to sacrifice life itself, formed no part of his motives, was manifest, for he was less anxious in his preparations for the battle than for the retreat; and his scheme of a retreat comprehended an escape from the kingdom, which was to be fought for. He sent off, before the battle, part of his artillery and baggage, and wrote private orders to have a ship got ready at Waterford, to carry him abroad.

Arrived at the Boyne, William rode along the banks of the river, in sight of both armies, to survey the whole scene of approaching contest. After some time he dis-

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mounted, and sat for near an hour on a rising ground, writing notes of what he had observed. The enemy seeing him in this situation, brought, unperceived, two pieces of cannon to bear upon him; and no sooner was he again on horseback than they were discharged at him. Two or three of his attendants were killed, and a shot grazed his shoulder;—the Irish observing some disorder, imagined that he was slain, and raised a shout of joy, which was carried on by multitudes after multitudes, till it reached Dublin, where it threw the Protestants that remained in the city in the greatest dismay. The news found its way to Paris. The guns of the Bastille were fired, and a general illumination took place to celebrate the event of the fall of the hero of liberty and the Protestant religion. The armies cannonaded each other all the evening of the 30th. At night, William, to display his vigilance, rode through his camp by the light of torches, nor did he withdraw to his tent till after twelve o'clock. He issued all his orders, but did not communicate his plan of the battle to any one, not even to the Duke of Schomberg, which is said to have greatly annoyed and chagrined the old general. Schomberg would have prevented his passing the river, and reduced him to the same inactivity he had himself observed the autumn before. But William, who had determined on vigour and expedition, conceived a disgust at his advice, which was probably the reason of his not paying him the attention of communicating to him his plan of operations. According to this plan, Count Schomberg, son of the Duke, was at the head of the right wing, to proceed to the bridge of Slane, and there pass the river at a ford which had been discovered. He was then to penetrate the morass, and attack the left of the enemy. The command of the centre was given to the Duke, and he was to pass the river at fords in the front. William in person was to descend with his left wing the banks of the river, as low down as Drogheda, and there make good his passage. At six in the morning of the 1st of July, Count Schomberg was in motion. He outmarched a body of

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the Boyne.

the enemy, whom he observed following his progress on the other side of the river. The effect of his rapid march was, that he encountered little opposition in his passage. The morass then lay before him. He sent his cavalry by the vein of firm ground that ran at the back of it, and made his way with much difficulty through the body of it with his infantry. The enemy thus taken in flank through a quarter where they little expected an attack, fell back before him, and continued retiring till they reached the pass of Duleek. As soon as Duke Schomberg was apprised of his son's progress at the right, he urged forward the centre to pass the river. The fords were extremely deep, so that the soldiers were breast-high in the water, holding their fire-locks above their heads. Many of the horses were obliged to swim.—As they approached, General Hamilton gathered a body of Irish cavalry, and exhorted them to receive the Duke with becoming vigour when he reached the bank. The Irish, who regarded Hamilton with no little fondness and pride as the best officer among their countrymen, were stimulated by his exhortations, and poured down on the comers from the river in their wet clothes, with no small impetuosity. Before these could form themselves on dry land, and recover themselves from the difficulties and hardships of the passage, they were broken through, and thrown into confusion by the shock of the cavalry. Duke Schomberg observing their disorder, with a gallantry and spirit which might have done honour to the most vigorous youth, rushed among them, and exerted himself every way to rally them. Observing a body of French troops approaching to cooperate with the Irish cavalry, and improve their success, he turned round to the French Protestants under his command, and called out to them with a loud voice, "*Allons, messieurs, voilà vos persecuteurs ;*"—Come on, gentlemen, see yonder your persecutors. He received a mortal wound in the midst of these exertions, and his troops were driven back into the river. A French Protestant was heard in the water encouraging his men; "*A la gloire,*

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CHAP. V. *mes enfans, à la gloire ;*—To glory, my children, to glory. The words were scarcely out of his lips, when a musket-ball closed them for ever. The centre of James's army had at this time decidedly the advantage. While, however, Count Schomberg was pressing them on their left, they were exposed to a most vigorous attack on their right from William in person. He had passed the river with considerable difficulty at a bad ford opposite Drogheda. While his troops were struggling with the stream which sometimes was nearly overwhelming them, he was seen brandishing his sword, having thrown loose the bandage which wrapt his wound, and encouraging his men by his voice and example. James's army could no longer withstand the pressure on both their flanks, and was gradually giving way. William's centre relieved by this pressure was able to recover itself, and cooperate to the success of the day.

James, unlike his rival, had taken post, during the whole battle, on the hill of Donore, considerably in the rear of his army. He did not come down to rally them, or exhort them to fresh exertions ; but, on their being thrown into confusion and falling back, fearing a detachment from Count Schomberg might get round to the passage of Duleek before him, quitted the field, and hastened to the passage. He was a fugitive before the victory was quite decided against him. General Hamilton, while making incredible efforts to recover the advantage he had lost, was taken prisoner. William asked him if he thought the Irish would yet make a stand ;—"Upon my honour," answered Hamilton, "I think they will." 'Your honour, your honour,' muttered the King, disdainfully, referring to his violation of the honourable engagement under which he had been permitted to repair to Ireland.

Whatever animadversions Hamilton's past conduct exposed him to, it is certain his reputation nowise suffered by the events of the battle of the Boyne. Besides the vigorous stand he made against the centre of William's army, had his advice been followed, a considerable force

would have been stationed both at the ford opposite to Drogheda, and at Slane Bridge; and if the wings had been prevented from passing the river, or much weakened, so as not to be able to make the impression they did, the victory might have been decided for James, notwithstanding the little assistance he gave his troops by conduct or example. In the hurry of their retreat, receiving no animation from their King, they did not think of defending the pass of Duleek. Lauzun, however, and the French generals brought them off in tolerable order. Their entire loss did not exceed two thousand men. They retired towards the line of the Shannon. There were about forty thousand combatants engaged on each side in this battle.

James hurrying from the field of battle, arrived at about nine o'clock in the evening at the castle of Dublin. He was received at the castle gate by Lady Tyrconnell, to whom he had the ill manners to speak contemptuously of the behaviour of her countrymen in the engagement. Next morning he assembled the magistrates of the city in whose presence he in a more public and solemn manner renewed these vituperating expressions, attributing his defeat entirely to the dastardly conduct of the Irish troops, and declaring he never again would trust himself at the head of an Irish army. The Irish when informed of this language, so little becoming the person from whose lips it proceeded, are reported to have indignantly exclaimed, "Exchange kings, and we will fight the battle over again." Having recommended it to the magistrates to submit to the Prince of Orange, and expressly forbidden a project which had been in agitation among some of his partisans to set fire to the city, he posted off to Waterford round by the county of Wicklow. At Waterford he took shipping for France, according to his previous arrangement. Lewis received him with kindness; but having lost in a great measure the hope of being able to re-establish him on his throne, listened with no great warmth to the projects which he frequently received from him of invading Ireland.

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James
finally quits
Ireland.

CHAP. V. ing England. He gradually sunk into neglect in the
 1690. palace of St. Germain, which had been assigned to him
 for his residence, and there dragged out the remains of
 an inglorious life in the exercises of a monkish devotion.

William, the day after the victory of the Boyne, summoned the garrison of Drogheda to surrender. On their hesitating, he threatened to put them to the sword, and by this menace compelled immediate compliance with his summons. He made his public entry into Dublin a few days after; and what pleased his religious adherents, and increased their fond admiration, went directly to the cathedral to return thanks for his success. The Protestants were, as might be expected, lavish of their compliments and congratulations, and unbounded in their expressions of joy. They did not, however, detain him above a few days, when, dividing his troops, he sent part westwards in pursuit of the remains of James's army: he himself proceeded to the south, pursuing a circuitous march along the line of coast, where he could easily receive supplies from his ships. In his progress he took Wexford, Waterford, and Duncannon fort, and then bending northwards, approached the body of the enemy on the Shannon. On the 8th of August, he presented himself before Limerick, but was obliged soon after to raise the siege, and on the last day of the month set out on his return to England. General Ginkel, a Dutchman, was left as his successor in the chief command.

Cork taken
 by the Earl
 of Marl-
 borough.

The only military event which occurred till the spring of the ensuing year, was an enterprise of some importance, but deriving its chief claim to the attention of the reader from the name of the man who conducted it; this was the taking of Cork and Kinsale by Lord Marlborough, afterwards the great duke of that name. The historian is excited to a pleasing emotion, in having to transmit to posterity the dawn of that military glory which was destined to fill the whole horizon of Europe, in recording the first achievements of a Marlborough.

The convenient situation of the harbours of Cork and Kinsale for receiving troops and all manners of succour from France, pointed them out to the particular attention of the English government; and it was judged the war in that kingdom could never be brought to a successful termination, and James and the French party expelled from it, till they were taken possession of by an adequate English force. Churchill, who had been created Earl of Marlborough immediately after the Revolution, was proposed to command an expedition for that purpose. He had already evinced his military talents on the Continent, where he had attracted the attention of the great Turenne, who used familiarly to call him "*le beau Anglois*," the handsome Englishman: but the usual objection was raised against him, that he was too young, and had not had experience enough. The mob of ministers would have passed him by. It was reserved for King William himself to discern the man of commanding genius in the gay and brilliant courtier. He said with emphatic expression he knew no man who had seen so few campaigns so fit for a general as Lord Marlborough. By his direct orders he was chosen to command the enterprise. He set sail, and appeared before Cork on the 21st of September. Cork was garrisoned with four thousand chosen troops, and had been recently fortified with a number of new works erected under the direction of French engineers. Lord Marlborough had, with the ardent confidence of genius, before he left England, promised to take it before winter with five thousand men, and he kept his word. He had not been long before the place when he was joined by a certain Duke of Wirtemburgh, who on the ground of rank claimed the chief command. Marlborough, who was master of the most courtly address, and knew how to prevail by seeming to yield, did not dispute his proud pretensions; but his nevertheless was the command during the whole of the siege which he retained by the irresistible ascendant of superior parts. He had obtained accurate information respecting the state of the

CHAP. V. place, and availed himself of it in the progress of his operations against it. The soldiers were ready to mount the breach, when it surrendered. October had not expired when Kinsale was likewise in his possession. Marlborough returned to England after having fully made good the confidence placed in him by his discerning sovereign.

1690.

Before Cork was killed the Duke of Grafton, illegitimate offspring of Charles II. who had been so active in promoting the success of the Revolution.

The miseries of Ireland were still severer and more harrassing this winter than the preceding. The army of James was distributed along the Shannon, and regarded the whole country east of the river as in obedience to their enemy, King William. They affected to consider all its inhabitants as enemies, and under this impression, or rather under colour of this pretext, issued out in marauding parties, carrying away the cattle and provisions, and sparing neither town, house, or cottage. Nor did the wilds behind them, though unequivocally in submission to James's government, enjoy more security. Wherever they offered the least plunder, the soldiers, who received little or no pay, made no scruple to seize it, and derided the complaints and lamentations of the inhabitants, calling themselves, but in vain, loyal subjects of King James. They chose barbarous leaders for themselves among those who robbed with the greatest boldness and alertness, and carried on their depredations with a sort of regularity and system. On the other hand, the fertile provinces in possession of William's troops experienced little less calamity. The troops were not much better paid than those of James. Immense arrears were due to them, and they were not very rigorously restrained from paying themselves out of the unprotected country. They regarded the farmers, the cottagers, and in general all the poor people as in their hearts favourers of James, and plundered them without mercy. Even the few Protestants did not escape; and they uttered the same complaints as in Schomberg's times.

Among these military banditti arose, or rather gathered, new strength, and extended themselves into more powerful combinations, another set called Rapparees, or Tories. ^{1690.} The population of Ireland, more wretched than the population of any other European country, hating their government and the very religion of their governors; attached by no ties to peace and subordination; inhabiting hovels, which they regarded with indifference, and which, if one night destroys, the next day will re-erect as good as ever, have, at all times, before and after the period to which this history refers, been ready to obey the slightest impulse that summons them to the favourite occupations of robbery and plunder. At this particular time, feeling themselves a prey to the military freebooters of both parties, and wholly without any manner of security or protection, they saw no expedient but to increase the general confusion, and seize what pittance they could in the general plunder. As they were sure to be hung up like dogs, whenever they were caught by the soldiers, with whose depredations they interfered, they carried on their enterprises with a peculiar ferocity, calculated to enforce silence by terror, and escape detection. They never robbed without murdering, and, in a short time, acquired by habit a thirst for blood, little less eager than the love of plunder. They formed themselves into bands, and chose the darkest nights, and when the moon was hid in cloud and rain, to issue from their lurking holes, to assemble according to previous agreement, in some lone bog or wilderness, pervious by paths known only to themselves. From these points of assemblage, they sallied forth on the work of plunder and death. Their tracks were discovered only by the cries and shrieks of the victims they were murdering, or the flames of the houses, villages, or haggards they had set fire to. When they approached any cantonment of troops, they hung timidly about it, and entered it in the disguise of suppliants, asking for protection, and complaining of wrongs. If, by any means, they could lull the suspicions, or disarm the resentment of the soldiery,

CHAP. V.
1690.
Rapparees,
or Tories.

CHAP. V. which did not often happen, they repressed their habitual
 1690. inclinations for a time, but kept watching, with a murderous eye, for any straggler, in whose bosom they might plunge their concealed knives. The knife was the usual instrument of their cruelty; but, when they could surprise any fire-arms, they kept them with extraordinary care. They knew how little they were to be trusted to their defenceless habitations, open on all sides, but, having charged them, they secreted them in some ditch or bog-hole, after closely corking up the muzzle and touch-hole, and taking off the lock, which they carried about them, or deposited in some dry place. If they showed no mercy, they received none. Above two thousand were hung up or shot, without form of trial, in the space of a few months.

Campaign
 of 1691.

The spring brought with it a renewal of the operations of war. The English had, during the whole winter, been pressing forward towards the Shannon, and Ginkel opened the campaign in June with the siege of Ballymore, a small place at no great distance from Athlone, which commanded a principal passage over the river. Ballymore did not hold out many days, and on the 19th of the month, Ginkel sat down before Athlone. The town was strongly garrisoned. It consisted of two parts separated by the river.—That on the east was called the English, and the western division the Irish town. Besides the strength it derived from its garrison and some fortifications, it was further supported by James's main army, which lay encamped behind it, under the command of Monsieur St. Ruth. Count Lauzun, who had commanded the French troops at the battle of the Boyne, no longer able to restrain his impatience at the kind of life to which he was condemned, had thrown himself into Limerick, and from thence proceeded to France before the setting in of winter. The command became a subject of contention and animosity among the Irish generals, and was disputed with all the zeal and vehemence too common in that nation, where individuals are apt to forget the common cause in

their separate interests and passions. Tyrconnell claimed CHAP. V.
it on the ground of the station he had formerly held in
the country. General Sarsfield, elated with the favour
of his countrymen, whom he had captivated by his
conduct when William was obliged to raise the siege
of Limerick, positively refused to yield it to any one.
To put an end to this strife, St. Ruth was sent out from
France, and appointed to command, not much to the satis-
faction of the Irish, whom, however, their haughty allies
did not condescend to consult on the occasion. St. Ruth
was wholly destitute of military talents. He had recom-
mended himself to the bigotted councils of his master by
his zeal and acrimony in persecuting the Protestants in his
own country, and was, perhaps, thought on that account
not unfit to command in Ireland. His want of military
talents was discernible in the fall of Athlone. The English
part of the town did not make any long resistance. A
breach having been effected in one of the principal bastions,
it was carried by storm on the second day of the siege.
The Irish troops fled in confusion to the bridge which
connected it with the western or Irish part, but those on
that side of the river, apprehending the English might
enter along with the fugitives, broke down the arch nearest
to them, and thus compelled the flying crowd to sue for
quarter or throw themselves into the Shannon.—The
greater part preferred the latter part of the alternative,
and were most of them drowned. The Irish had never
calculated on the resistance of the English town, and
reserved all their exertions and skill for the defence of the
Irish part. They lined the banks of the river with fortifi-
cations and entrenchments. The passage was extremely
difficult, and yet Ginkel had to attempt it without delay.
His army was much straightened for want of provisions.
He had neglected to establish magazines, or a line of
communications behind him, and every day would add to
his distress. A retreat, in these circumstances, would be
extremely difficult and hazardous, and besides, at the very
opening of the campaign, would imprint disgrace on his

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CHAP. V. arms, and produce the utmost discouragement among all
 1691. the partisans of the cause in the kingdom. He resolved, therefore, to make a vigorous attempt to dislodge the enemy from the remainder of the town, and open the way for his advance. In order to avail himself of the bridge, which remained, for the greater part entire, he had to supply the deficiency of the broken arch by planks, which it required some ingenuity to establish. This, however, he contrived to effect, and here he directed the passage of the main body of his army. While these were forcing their way over the bridge, they were to receive support and co-operation from a large detachment appointed to pass at a ford above it. Money was distributed to encourage the soldiers, but just as the attempt was to be made, a grenade thrown by the Irish set fire to the plank floor, laid where the broken arch presented a chasm, and disappointed the whole scheme. The troops withdrew to their quarters. The news of this failure spread consternation through the whole Protestant party in the kingdom, and the Protestants in Dublin already expected the approach of the enemy, and began to barricade the avenues of the city, and raise works for its defence*. In proportion to the dismay thus communicated far and wide among this party, was the joy and triumph of the Irish. They called out to the English soldiers with bitter taunts and defiances from their side of the river, telling them they had returned a poor penny-worth for the money they had received. The English were stung and irritated to a degree of frenzy.—They insisted, with loud clamours, to be led on to the attack, confident of forcing their way without the help of the bridge through the single passage of the ford. St. Ruth, on the news of the first meditated attempt, had approached the walls of the town with his whole army, and had even sent in a considerable reinforcement for its defence, but deeming all the danger past when he heard

* See, however, Dr. Leland's remark on this part of Dabrymple's Narrative, extracted from Mackay's MS. Memoirs.

the attempt would not be made, from the event of the burn- ing of the planks, he had recalled this reinforcement, and had withdrawn with all his troops to his original position. So far did he carry his vain confidence, that he sent in to invite the ladies to a ball at his camp that night. Ginkel, in the mean time, humoured and encouraged the impetuosity of his men, and resolved to give the reins to it. He informed them, that at six o'clock in the evening they should be indulged, and ordered them to be ready for the attack. This hour was chosen as the usual time for relieving the guards, when the assembly of troops would less excite the attention of the enemy. The tolling of the church bell was to be the signal for descending into the river. At the time appointed, two thousand chosen grenadiers were drawn up at the water side. No sooner was the bell heard to toll than they entered the stream, while their companions raised a loud huzza. They encountered a brisk fire from all parts of the Irish works, but they continued advancing in the midst of it. When they arrived abreast of the broken arch of the bridge, part of the detachment turned round to it, and while the others were pushing forward and engaging the attention of the enemy, they succeeded in establishing a passage over it, and thus the whole army was able to proceed. In less than an hour the English were masters of the town. The Irish were so confounded and overpowered by the boldness of the enterprise, that they fled from the entrenchments with less resistance than might have been expected from their loud vauntings; and crowding to the other side of the town, leaped over the ramparts, and effected their escape to the French camp. St. Ruth had so little apprehended the success of this second attempt, that when word was sent to him, the English had entered the river, accompanied by a request that he would bring up his army, he laughed at the message, saying, he would give a thousand pistoles the news was true. He now gazed with disappointment and vexation at those ramparts and fortifications, which, being on his side of the country, he might, without danger, have levelled with the ground, but which

Athlone
taken by
the English.

CHAP. V.

1691.

entire and undamaged in the possession of the enemy, would afford them a point of support in their advance, and protect any retreat they might be compelled to make. Ginkel, too, behind these ramparts, had leisure to refresh his army in security, and could chuse his own time for a continuation of his march. The very night Athlone was taken, St. Ruth removed his camp beyond the river Suck, and took up his position at Aughrim, at ten miles distance to the south-west. Ginkel remained a week in Athlone. He thought this season of victory and prosperity for the arms of William, a convenient one for carrying into effect the orders he had received from him before his departure from Ireland, and issued a proclamation, offering pardon to any who should be willing to come in and avail themselves of it. This act could not now be construed a concession extorted by weakness. Many of the poor Irish came in under this proclamation, and brought provisions, which were distributed among the troops. Considerable supplies, too, had fallen into his hands, left in the town on the precipitate flight of its garrison. He did not leave Athlone till he had put the fortifications in such a state as to render it a perfectly secure place of reception for the convoys and magazines that should arrive to him from Dublin. The general submission of the surrounding country would greatly facilitate their arrival, and when he took the field, on the tenth of July, against St. Ruth, he brought out an army much refreshed and comforted by the stay he had been able to make at Athlone, and with a degree of security as to his future supplies, which was, in a great measure, the result of his measures of pardon and pacification. St. Ruth had taken a very advantageous position along a ridge of hills two miles in extent.—Immediately before him was a piece of firm ground, but this did not extend above half a mile, and terminated in a deep morass, through which Ginkel had to pass before he could reach him. Two only roads conducted through the morass, one on the right, and the other on the left. The piece of firm ground immediately before St. Ruth's position was intersected with hedges and ditches, and walls, and behind these St. Ruth

placed bodies of Irish, who were to keep up a brisk fire on the enemy if they succeeded in effecting their passage through the morass. He had twenty-five thousand men thus strongly posted against eighteen thousand who were to make the attack. The great deficiency under which he laboured was that of cannon, of which he had only nine field pieces. Ginkel hesitated when he took a view of this position, and would have retreated had he not feared the impression on the minds of the Irish peasantry, many of whom were still in suspense on the fate of his attempt; but would to a man have been decided against him, had he relinquished the contest in despair.

The 12th of July was the day he fixed upon for the attack. The greater part of the day was consumed in skirmishes and preparatory measures. It was half an hour after four in the afternoon, before the English army, divided into two bodies, was seen proceeding by the roads which conducted through the morass. The direction of these roads would bring them on the flanks of St. Ruth, and when they united on the firm ground they would be able to make a combined attack on the centre. St. Ruth was not able to impede their march through the morass. They encountered no opposition till they had reached the ditches and walls behind which the Irish were posted. Here a most arduous struggle took place. All accounts concur in representing the valour of the Irish on this occasion as little inferior to that of their English assailants. St. Ruth had called forth the whole influence of religion to exalt it to the highest pitch. By his orders, masses had been celebrated in all parts of his camp. The soldiers drawn up before the Sacrament, had been obliged to swear upon it not to quit their posts in the approaching engagement. During the progress of the battle, priests, holding crucifixes in their hands, ran from rank to rank to confirm the effect of their previous adjurations. The English, in endeavouring to turn round where the two divisions were to meet, were forced back in several places. However, by dint of exertion, they were gaining ground and approaching to the meditated junction. St. Ruth, who

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Battle of
Aughrim.

CHAP. V. was stationed on a hill behind his army, from which he
1691. could survey the whole scene, had indulged in the greatest triumph and elation of heart when he saw the English so vigorously resisted in their flank movements. He had no doubt they would be driven back into the morass, and he expressed the confident hope of continuing the pursuit even to the gates of Dublin. But when he observed them bending forwards, notwithstanding the obstinate opposition they encountered, he saw at once the importance of the moment. He precipitately descended from the hill, in hopes, by his personal exertions, and the assistance of the chosen body of troops he had round him, to resist their further progress, and beat them back from the ground they had gained. He was giving his orders, when he was fatally struck by a cannon-ball. His death threw every thing into confusion. The troops near him, whom he had directed to advance, made a sudden halt, and the foremost bodies looking round, and observing this, became panic struck. The word ran from rank to rank that the general was killed. It was seen, that not all the stimulatives of zeal and religion can countervail the want of discipline and regular habits of war. Not all the adjurations of the priests could hinder the Irish from flying on all sides. The English pursued for the space of four miles, and were so heated by the opposition they had experienced, as to refuse to give quarter. The fugitives made their way to Limerick. If Ginkel had taken advantage of the first moments of alarm and confusion occasioned by the entrance of such a promiscuous crowd, and the want of acknowledged chiefs and leaders, he must have got possession of the city, and thus, at one blow, ended the war; but he, very injudiciously, as the historian will hesitatingly pronounce, turned back to secure the town of Galway, which was of very inferior importance, and by its situation on the sea-coast, could not break in on his line of communication with any part of the kingdom. The advantage was lost, and Limerick prepared for resistance.

In Limerick were collected all the remains of James's

power in Ireland. Besides the fugitives from the field of CHAP. V.
Aughrim, parties and detachments from all parts of the 1691.
kingdom had repaired hither at an earlier period. There
were, likewise, a number of French officers and troops.
Since the occupation of Cork and Kinsale by the English,
it had become the great point of communication with
France. Lord Tyrconnell, who, after the defeat of the
Boyne, had been sent to the French court to solicit further
assistance, had arrived here early in the year with a quan-
tity of arms, ammunition and money, escorted by three
frigates. More considerable reinforcements had been
promised by Louis, which were to be conveyed by a large
French fleet. By the capitulation of Galway, the garrison,
consisting of near three thousand men, with some pieces of
cannon, had marched to Limerick under the command of
Lord Dillon, and added to the strength of the place. Siege of
Limerick. It
was the 25th of August before Ginkel sat down before it,
and immediately took a view of the town. It consisted,
like Athlone, of two towns. The part on the eastern side
of the Shannon was denominated the Irish town. It was
connected by a bridge with an island in the river on which
stood the English town, and from thence another bridge,
called Thomond Bridge, was carried over to the county of
Clare, or the western or Connaught side of the Shannon.
A pretty strong line of fortifications extended on all sides.
Since the attempt of King William, a number of new
works had been erected, and particularly at the extremity
of the bridge by which the town communicated with Con-
naught. No small division and animosity of parties reigned
within the walls. They ranged themselves under different
leaders. Lord Tyrconnell, seeing nothing but discom-
fiture and disgrace attending the cause which he had at
one period so violently espoused, had fallen entirely from
this violence and impetuosity of character. His conduct
seemed to evince that his irresolution and fluctuation before
the arrival of James in Ireland, had been real and not
simulated. He testified impatience at the continuance
of the war, and notwithstanding his visit to France,

CHAP. V. exerted the small influence which remained with him, to
1691. persuade the garrison of Limerick to submit to William's government on the best terms they could procure; but his influence every day grew less, and he came at last to be totally disregarded, and even treated with insult. He died soon after the commencement of the siege, of poison, administered to him in a cup of ratifia, according to the popular reports of the day; or, as others said, of a broken heart, bewailing with his last words the calamities he had brought on his country. There were not wanting persons after his death who pursued the same track, and more or less, directly wished for a surrender of the town. Some were in treacherous confederacy with the English general, secretly transmitting to him information, and in every way favouring his enterprise. Among these was one Balderick Roe O'Donnel, whose adventures have something singular in them.—He was of an old Irish sept, but born and educated in Spain, and such a circumstance would rather fortify than weaken his Irish antipathy to England and religious fanaticism. At his first appearance among his countrymen, he was hailed by them as the hero destined to deliver them from the thraldom of England. A prophecy to this effect became universal among them, and they crowded round him in thousands, declaring *that they* would be invincible under him; yet Balderick, notwithstanding his Spanish education, and all the enthusiasm which he had excited, soon showed a coolness to the cause, and was ready to abandon it for good terms from the English. This has often been the conduct of these pretended fanatics. Let the people of Ireland be persuaded the mask of fanaticism is often assumed to deceive their sanguine and generous nature;—not the loudest and most flourishing pretenders to their favour are most sincerely attached to their real interests. The manner in which James takes notice, in his Memoirs, of this Balderick, evinces that he personally entertained no partiality for the project of Irish independence, which some of his adherents wished to engraft on the success of his cause,

—“ One Balderic O'Donnel was long engaged in hidden and treasonable practices. It appeared afterwards, that there was a design of putting the kingdom into the hands of the ancient Irish, independent of, and on an equal footing with England : this it was that rendered O'Donnel so popular, and raised him such a mighty crowd of followers, with which he lived, in a manner, at discretion, while the war lasted ; and he then made his peace with the enemy, without the King's privity or consent. Lord Lucan, though he opposed Tyrconnell, opposed also the treasonable practices with regard to the independence of Ireland.” Balderick afterwards obtained a regiment in the English service as a reward for betraying his cause. But the man who most decidedly favoured the enterprise of the English general by a clandestine correspondence, was Colonel Luttrell. This man had been highly trusted by James, and had plentifully shared the sunshine of his fortune. He had been governor of Dublin during his residence in that city, and had distinguished himself by his severity to the Protestants. As long as James's affairs bore an aspect to inspire any hope of his ultimate success he seemed devoted to all his interests and passions. But now, anticipating the final discomfiture of his cause, and having a large inheritance in Ireland to lose, he had resolved to enter into engagements and stipulations to secure it, and was not long before he made known his views and determination to the besieging army. But some time elapsed before these secret counsels could produce any effect. General Sarsfield, created Lord Lucan by James, had strongly attracted the attention, and eminently engaged the affections of his countrymen by his spirit and personal prowess on many occasions. He bore a proud and commanding aspect, and his opinion, decidedly pronounced, was well calculated to draw after it that of others. He was zealously and affectionately attached to James, and strenuously resisted every attempt which he deemed injurious to his cause. He prevailed against the despondency of Tyrconnell, and the perfidious advice of the others. The

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CHAP. V. French officers, however, tired of Ireland, and desirous of returning to their country, had received positive orders from their master to prolong the Irish war. William was now at the head of a large army in Flanders, and this war operated as a considerable diversion in favour of the French monarch. Bodies of troops, which would have joined William, were detained before Limerick. Every proposal to a surrender was rejected, and a vigorous defence determined on.

1691.

There were two squadrons of English ships appointed to watch Limerick, and prevent the entrance of succours or supplies. One in the river Shannon itself, and another, more considerable, off Cape Clear. Neither was of sufficient force to contend with the large French fleet that was expected, but they were deemed sufficient for present purposes.

The first operation of Ginkel was to drive the enemy from some works which they occupied outside of the Irish town. They had repaired and strengthened by new fortifications an old fort which had been built by Ireton, and was called Ireton's Fort. These they abandoned without much resistance, and withdrew entirely behind their walls. Ginkel next proceeded to attack the Irish town which was not separated from him by any branch of the river. The country, however, was one continued swamp, and the heavy rains, which fell and overflowed all the drains and pieces of bog with which it was cut through, rendered his approaches extremely difficult. He succeeded, by an incessant fire of artillery, to lay a good part of this division of Limerick in ruins; but soon perceived he had made little progress towards the capture of the town, while the communication with the Clare or Connaught side of the river remained open and uninterrupted. The besieged had a large body of cavalry, that scoured the country on that side without restraint or molestation, and plentifully supplied them with forage and provisions, which they received by Thomond Bridge. The impression too on the English town was but feeble, while the fire could

be directed on it only from one side of the river. Ginkel CHAP. V.
determined to pass over with a large body of troops to the
county of Clare side. He was informed the works at
Thomond Bridge were not so formidable as they had been
represented, and it was certain the English town could not
be reduced till it was attacked on that side. He set part
of his army in motion towards the approach of night, and
simulated every appearance as if he was withdrawing from
the siege. The Irish raised a shout of exultation from
their walls, and entertained no farther apprehension. But
on the setting in of night Ginkel altered the direction of
his march, and turned to the river about a mile above the
town. He constructed a bridge of pontoons, and the
morning sun saw him on the Clare side, approaching
Thomond Bridge. The Irish cavalry had, according to
an Irish custom, set their horses loose to pasture during
the night, and were in no condition to oppose his pro-
gress over the river. By another account, the passage
was concerted with Colonel Luttrell, who having the com-
mand in that quarter, undertook to keep the patrols out
of the way, and enable the English to construct their
bridge without molestation. The Irish fled before them
as they pushed on to Thomond Bridge. The works at the
bridge were soon carried, and nothing remained for the
fugitives but to hurry over it to the English town. As
the crowd was pressing over in the greatest number, a
French officer who was stationed there apprehending the
besiegers, who were half mixed with them, might enter at
the same time, ordered the drawbridge to be raised before
many had got into the town. The English wreaked their
fury on those that remained behind. They were all put
to the sword except those who precipitated themselves
into the Shannon. The bridge was heaped with the bodies
of the slain, up to the very battlements dyed with blood.
A great scarcity of provisions began now to be felt in the
town. The supply from the west was cut off, and some
vessels attempting to come up the river were taken or
destroyed by the English squadron. There was no appear-

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ance of the French fleet so long expected. In these circumstances the party, that from various motives promoted a surrender, became louder and more earnest in their representations, and these representations were every day more persuasive with a starving population, crowded together from all sides. The act of the French officer in raising the drawbridge, and delivering over so many of their flying countrymen to be slaughtered, worked powerfully on the passions of the Irish multitude. They listened with favour to those who represented them as sacrificed to the remorseless ambition of France, careless of their blood or of the entire destruction of their unhappy country, as long as any wound could be inflicted on the interests of England. The remonstrances of Sarsfield and his party, who urged them to wait a little longer, promising them abundant French succours, which must soon make their appearance, lost their effect, and the garrison and inhabitants were generally disposed to a surrender.

There was abundance of corresponding disposition on the part of the besieging general. William, whose mind was entirely engrossed with continental projects and continental affairs, and who had never been very deeply impressed with the importance of Ireland, regarded the Irish war as the greatest annoyance. It detained part of the army from the service of Flanders, where he was in person, and consumed a large branch of the supplies so parsimoniously granted by the English parliament. He, therefore, directed his positive commands to all his officers, both civil and military, in Ireland, to put an end to it by any means, or at the expense of any sacrifice. The prevailing party in the kingdom, the Protestant fanatical Irish party, viewed the matter with very different sentiments, and had not imperious and irresistible circumstances interposed, would have given the rein to very different counsels. They looked forward with the most eager anticipation to the destruction, and almost extermination of the Popish party, which they represented as necessary to the maintenance of the English authority. They feasted their

cupidity along with the many angry, malevolent passions of their nature on the long roll of confiscations and forfeitures which must result from the unconditional subjugation of the country. They expected a harvest nearly as abundant as they had reaped from the rebellion, which those faithful representatives of their views and sentiments, the Lords Justices Parsons and Borlase, had so conveniently produced in the middle of the century. But they were condemned by circumstances, to restrain and confine this luxurious indulgence of their imaginations. They could not combat the repeated orders of their master, who, from birth and education, and situation, had very little sympathy with these their provincial propensities. The orders were peremptory, and they were obliged, however reluctantly, to obey. They could not either close their eyes to the situation of their army before Limerick. William, who spared as small a number of his troops as he possibly could from his continental campaign, would certainly send no reinforcements from abroad, or from England, and there were but scanty means of recruiting for the service in the bosom of the kingdom itself. A small army extended now of necessity to both sides of the river, spread round walls of a very considerable extent, opposed to a very large population, was exposed to very many dangers. The winter was approaching. An increased violence might be expected to the very heavy rains which threatened to destroy all their works, and thin their ranks by the ravages of disease. The dysentery had already broken out among them, amidst tents overflowed with water. The soldiers were obliged to dig a ditch round every tent, and had no means of combating the dreadful humidity, but by burning brandy at night, and a plentiful use of spirituous liquors, both night and day*. In these circumstances, should the French succours arrive, the siege must terminate in discomfiture and flight. In their

* These particulars are taken from *Tristram Shandy*. Sterne had good opportunities of learning the history of the siege.

CHAP. V. vexation and disappointment, the Protestant party did not
1691. forbear from heavy censures of the general, taxing him with want of activity and promptitude. He might have passed the river, they contended, in the first days of September, instead of waiting till the 16th, which was so much delay, and delay was so fatal at such a season of the year. These military criticisms were dictated by the melancholy foreboding which pressed upon their minds, that the garrison would obtain favourable terms of capitulation. The reason assigned by Harris and others, who defend the general for his not attempting the passage earlier, was that he had not before that time secured such a party in the town, as was necessary for the success of his operation. If this reason be valid, it will show what the besieged might have accomplished, had they been all steady to themselves.

No sooner had the general established himself on the other side of the river, than he thought this advantage might give effect to a fresh declaration, which he accordingly issued, promising to the garrison and inhabitants of Limerick, if they submitted in eight days, *pardon of their offences, restitution to their estates, and even reward for their services*, which last clause must have been directed for those whom he had already gained over among them. The garrison, however, were induced by Sarsfield to try the effect of a new sally, and see whether they could not drive the besiegers from the Clare side of the river. Defeated in this attempt, and wrought on by the secret machinations of those who were in correspondence with the English, they could no longer be prevailed on to refuse listening to terms of surrender. On the 23rd of the month, they demanded a parley, and, the day after, the principal noblemen and gentlemen in the garrison, accompanied by the titular primate and titular Archbishop of Cashell, Sir Theobald Butler, and other lawyers, came out, and were entertained at dinner by the general.

On the 26th were transmitted the formal demands of the besieged. They consisted of six articles, with the

additional condition, that the terms should be embodied in a regular act of parliament: I. An act of indemnity for all the past; II. A restoration to every one of such an estate as he had before the Revolution; III. Unlimited freedom of worship, and a priest to be assigned to each parish, as well in towns and cities as in the country; IV. Catholics to be capable of all employments in the kingdom, as well civil as military, and to exercise all professions, trades, and callings; V. The Irish army to be kept on foot, and paid, as the rest of the King's forces, in case they were willing to serve against France, or any other enemy; VI. The Irish Catholics to be allowed to live in cities and towns corporate, to be members of them, and to be on the same footing with the Protestants in all privileges of the said corporations.

Ginkel, though a stranger to the affairs of Ireland, could not but discern, that these terms constituted, in a great degree, the triumph of the cause which had experienced so many defeats this and the preceding campaign. The Irish sacrificed little or nothing but King James. They established their religion on a footing which it had never been on since the reformation of Henry VIII. and, by keeping up their army, they obtained a substantial guarantee for the observance of the conditions they imposed. He refused to grant them, but his refusal was conveyed in terms which evinced no small degree of hesitation, and a little tenaciousness on the part of the besieged would certainly have extorted them. But there was a party of traitors to the cause in the town, and they succeeded against the instances of Sarsfield. After some discussion, the articles, as they now stand, were finally agreed upon, well known by the name of the articles of Limerick. The civil articles, thirteen in number, were confirmed and signed by Sir Charles Porter and Thomas Coningsby, lords justices, exercising the vice-regal government at the time in Ireland, who came to the camp before Limerick for the purpose of adding, by their signature, the sanction of the civil government to the act of the general. As these

CHAP. V.

1691.

Town capitulates.

Articles of Limerick.

CHAP. V. articles have been the subject of no small discussion and controversy in Ireland, I will make no apology for entering into a pretty full commentary upon them, and tracing the history of the infractions they have experienced. The first observation which obtrudes itself, on a perusal of them, is, that they are drawn up in a very slovenly manner, describing the objects of their beneficial provisions with an utter want of clearness and precision. Sir Theobald Butler, an eminent lawyer of the Catholic party, and, at the time, one of the besieged, was entrusted with the task of giving them the requisite form. The manner in which he acquitted himself reflects no honour on his abilities, and certainly conveys to us no very high opinion of the professional skill for which he was celebrated. The articles are, "In behalf of the Irish inhabitants in the city and county of Limerick, the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo;" yet the very first, immediately following this title, embraces the whole Catholic population of *Ireland*, and professes to regulate their state and condition in after times. The repeated declarations and voluntary offers of the general were addressed to the Catholics of the *whole kingdom*, and, it is evident, they were the objects of, at least, the first article. This discrepancy between the title and the provisions, throws perplexity and confusion over the whole instrument, and favoured the views of those who were resolved to break through it on the first convenient opportunity. The first article, which is the most important, is in these words:—"I. The Roman Catholics of the kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles II. and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance, upon the account of their said religion."

Nothing can be conceived more loosely or incorrectly drawn than this provision, which was of the most lasting

importance to the whole Catholic population of the king-CHAP. V.
dom. What was the law and constitution in the reign of
Charles II. could, no doubt, be easily ascertained. There
was no need to go further than the statute-book; but it was
not, perhaps, so easy to satisfy every one, what *was con-*
sistent with the laws of Ireland. Yet the two branches of
the sentence are preposterously put, by the disjunctive
particle, as of the same import with each other; "as
are consistent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did
enjoy in the reign of King Charles II." The subsequent
articles are equally loose and confused. They treat of
restitution to estates, and pardon for past offences. The
extent of the concession should, therefore, have been
exactly defined, and no obscurity or possible misconstruc-
tion left as to the persons intended to be benefited; but,
on the contrary, a singular confusion prevails. In one
article, individuals are mentioned without reference to any
classification or description. In another, bodies of men
are introduced, but these very loosely described. With
respect to these last, an extraordinary omission, or rather
unparalleled piece of negligence, occurred. The descrip-
tion of persons, for whom restitution of property was
covenanted, in the second article, was in these words, in
the copy exhibited to the general, and approved of by
him:—"All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or
any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and
all officers and soldiers, now in arms, under any commis-
sion of King James, or those authorised by him, to grant
the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry,
Cork, and Mayo, or any of them, and all such as are under
their protection in the said counties, &c. and they, and
every of them shall hold, possess, and enjoy," &c. The
words "And all such as are under their protection in the
said counties," were an important extension of the benefit
to be conveyed. Many persons must have suffered by
the omission of it; yet was it omitted in transcribing the
articles upon parchment, for the purpose of being formally
signed and executed, and transmitted to the King for rati-

CHAP. V. fication; nor was the omission taken notice of till the half of Limerick had been surrendered and evacuated by the garrison; but the lords justices honourably promised, that no advantage should be taken of this extraordinary omission of the transcribing clerk, and the clause was introduced in the ratification by the King. This second article is loaded with technical phraseology, which would seem to denote a superficial sciolist in law, and which materially perplexes and obscures its provisions.

There was no want of honourable intentions on the part of the lords justices, or of the King, and, if they alone had been concerned, the articles would have been faithfully and scrupulously observed. The King did not hesitate to ratify them, and they stand exemplified under the great seal of England. But, notwithstanding these solemnities, the Protestant party that had uncontrolled ascendancy in the Irish parliament, who had seen, with no small vexation and impatience, the concessions to the Catholics which they contained, were well resolved to break through them, till, by successive infractions, they were entirely overthrown. The lords justices, whose honour was pledged to their observance, would be removed, and the King knew too little of Ireland, and interested himself too little in its concerns or party contentions, to oppose the declaration of their malignant and dishonourable passions. So high did the passions of some among them rise, that the very Sunday after the return of the lords justices to Dublin, Dr. Anthony Dopping, bishop of Meath, the same who had sat in James's parliament, preaching before them, declared that no faith ought to be observed with Papists, and that no manner of respect was due to the articles, and, within two months after they were signed, the party prevailed, by the agency of the sheriffs and justices of the peace, to dispossess, without any form of trial or law, a number of Catholics of their property, both real and personal. These invasions of Catholic property had begun the year before, immediately after William had established his authority in Dublin, and often movables were seized

in the hands of Protestants, on the bare suspicion that they belonged to their Catholic neighbours, and had been deposited with them for safety. As far as William gave any attention to these proceedings, he expressed his disapprobation of them, and, on two or three occasions, vigorously checked them. He ordered the name of the Bishop of Meath to be erased out of the list of the privy council. Indeed, if his instructions had been punctually obeyed, the concessions to the Catholics had gone much further than the articles of Limerick, for, before the surrender of the town, in his impatience to get the troops from before it to the continent, where he was going, he had directed the lords justices not to cavil about any demand that might be made, and grant almost every thing to the Catholics. The lords justices had gone so far as to prepare a proclamation to this effect, and even had it printed, but, as it was never published, it was called, with some approach to a blunder, *the secret proclamation*. Though themselves men of sufficient liberality, yet were they well pleased enough to gratify the Protestant party; and seeing, that from the want of steadiness and concord among the besieged, and the secret treachery of many among them, the confused instrument of the capitulation, in which every concession was extremely moderated, and so obscurely expressed as to give room to numberless evasions, had, however, satisfied them, they suppressed their proclamation.

The Protestant party, unable to communicate any portion of their malignant zeal and furious animosity to the mind of the King, yet, however, succeeded in transferring some of it into the English parliament by means of the Whigs, with whom they had ever maintained a connection in politics, which received no light shade of colour from their religious passions. The English parliament apprehending, it should seem, with little foundation, that some Catholics would creep into the next parliament that might be convened in Ireland, and weaken and dilute the vigour and malignancy of their Protestant enactments, assuming

CHAP. V. a right which did not belong to them of legislating for
 ——— Ireland, passed a law to exclude all Catholics from the Irish
 parliament. It is observable, that by the first of the articles
 of Limerick, the Irish government, after covenanting that
 all matters relating to the Catholic religion should be placed
 precisely on the same footing as in the reign of Charles II.
 declared that a parliament should be summoned in Ire-
 land, “to procure the said Roman Catholics such further
 security in that particular as may preserve them from any
 disturbance upon the account of the said religion.” Now
 this parliament was, by the act of the English legislature,
 so constituted, that it could not fail, instead of providing
 fresh security for the Roman Catholics, to excite their
 terrors in the highest degree, and destroy any sense of
 security that might be returning among them. The act
 of the English parliament was most certainly an infraction
 of that part of the article which covenanted for the resto-
 ration of every thing to the state it was in, in the reign of
 Charles II. In that reign, though the Catholics laboured
 under many disabilities, yet it so happened, that they were
 not excluded from either house of parliament by the law
 of the land. We have seen, indeed, that in the only par-
 liament which met during the whole of the reign, each
 house by a separate resolution voted the exclusion of
 Catholics from among them; but these resolutions did
 not constitute *law*. They gave great offence at the time
 to the English court. The plain meaning of the first
 article of Limerick was, a restoration of things to the con-
 dition of *law*. The parliament that was convened in
 1692. Ireland the year following the capitulation, and from
 which Catholics were thus excluded, passed several laws,
 which more or less infringed the articles; but the great
 infraction, or rather entire overthrow, was reserved for the
 next reign.

In the year 1703, under the vice-regal government of
 the Duke of Ormond, an act was proposed and carried
 almost by acclamation in the Irish parliament, in which
 the fanatical Protestant party exclusively prevailed,

entitled, "an act to prevent the further growth of Popery."——I shall, before I conclude, take notice of the extraordinary code of persecution which this act established. It is sufficient to observe in this place, that it was an entire departure from the law as it stood in the reign of Charles II., and therefore a complete subversion of the first article of Limerick. Sir Theobald Butler, who drew up the articles, lived to argue against this signal overthrow of them as counsel both at the bar of the lords and of the commons.

Mr. Plowden has given us, among other curious documents on this part of Irish history, a report of the argument, in his Appendix. Where he has taken it, he does not say. It is a poor piece of reasoning, and a wretched composition. Sir Theobald, however, proves conclusively enough, the infraction in question. He had only to refer to the statute book for this purpose.—An argument used by the advocates of the bill deserves to be remembered as one of the most bare-faced pieces of sophistry ever proposed by human effrontery, in all the insolence of uncontrolled power. "True," said they, to the Catholics, "you were to be placed on the same footing as in the reign of Charles II. ; but, in that reign there was, as there is now, a power of altering the law, and that power alone we make use of." A principle which would authorize the violation of every treaty and convention entered into among mankind, merits only the stern contempt of the true logician. Sir Stephen Rice, who was admitted along with Sir Theobald Butler, to plead against the bill, answered this argument, if it can be so called, in a very confused illogical manner. He made a concession which entirely changed the terms of the question. He admitted that any law which might be deemed absolutely needful for the safety and *advantage* of the public, could not be a breach of these or any similar articles. If the door was not for ever closed by the treaty against general reasonings on what was needful for the safety and *advantage* of the public, or otherwise, it is obvious that it was of no avail whatsoever.

CHAP. V. Sir Stephen shewed himself on this occasion as inexpert a disputant, as Sir Theobald Butler was an unskilful draftsman. Of the same kindred with what has been thus contemptuously noticed, was another species of argument urged in favour of the law—"that any right which the Papists pretended to be taken from them by the bill, was in their own power to remedy, by conforming; as in prudence they ought to do; and that they ought not to blame any but themselves." Never, certainly, did tyranny and oppression so shamefully rise above the decencies of common sense.

1691. Along with the civil articles of Limerick were entered into military articles for the evacuation of the town, and the subsequent disposal of the troops which had defended it; and these were drawn out to twenty-nine in number. The troops were allowed to transport themselves to France, and even transports were to be provided for them. The commanders and principal officers had insisted on this concession, as they pleased themselves with the prospect of a distinguished reception among a polite people by a great and splendid monarch. This prospect had some influence in persuading them to give up the more eagerly a town where they already sustained numerous privations, and which was every way a disagreeable place of residence. The soldiers were to use their discretion as to following them or not. The officers, confident that their reception at the French court would be so much the more flattering as they brought a greater number of men along with them, omitted no art, or eloquence of promise and representation to produce the largest degree of emigration possible. The permission to emigrate was not confined to the regular bodies of troops composing the garrison, but extended to all the loose desultory bands of freebooters, or rapparees, over the kingdom; so that there was an immense concourse of all descriptions of persons to the banks of the Shannon, with a view to the proposed embarkation. The immense multitude was drawn up in lines on the Clare side of the river, and passed in review before General Ginkel

and the lords justices. They were concerned to see so many fine able-bodied men ready to forsake for ever their native country, and carry over their talents and their courage to the service of another state. They directed a canvass to be opened on their side for the purpose of dissuading them from emigration; but they found their dissuasives, as Harris relates, of little avail against the sermons and exhortations of their priests, who painted to them in lively colours the advantages that would redound to them and their holy religion from espousing the cause of the French king, and the certain damnation they would incur by listening to the soothing speeches of condemned heretics. It is said the effect of these pious discourses was farther strengthened by large distributions of brandy among the bodies of men to be gained over. However that may have been, fourteen thousand, or according to L'Abbé Mac Geoghegan in his French history of Ireland, near twenty thousand Irishmen of mature age finally left the Irish shores in consequence of the capitulation of Limerick, and on embarking received the benedictions of their bishops. Influenced by a generous concern, and a warm wish to detain so large a part of the native population, the lords justices and the general proposed a measure which they afterwards gave up as an infraction of the treaty; but which admitted of very plausible arguments to justify it. By the first military article, "All persons without any exceptions of what quality or condition soever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, shall have free liberty to go, &c. with their families, household stuff, plate and jewels."—These words were certainly very comprehensive, and under them the liberty of departure could scarcely have been refused to any one who claimed it. But taking shipping on board transports provided by the English government was a different question.

The articles were entirely of a military nature, bearing the signature of the general alone, "Baron de Ginkle." They refer only to troops and soldiers of some description or other.—Now, the Irish officers, by way of alluring the

CHAP. V. men, promised them their wives and children should be embarked along with them. This the lords justices and the general at first opposed; but, as it has been said, they were obliged to withdraw their opposition. Great pains had been taken to flatter and gain over General Sarsfield. He is called in the articles exemplified under the great seal of England, *Lord Lucan*, though he received his title from King James after his abdication, and when no royal act of James could regularly be acknowledged by the English government. But all to no purpose. Sarsfield was the most active of his countrymen to persuade the others to quit Ireland. He was particularly vehement against what he called a flagrant violation of the treaty—the prohibition of the women entering the transports with their husbands. The yielding of the representatives of the English government is easily accounted for. Whatever were the liberal views of the lords justices, the Protestant party, by whom they were in a great measure swayed and controlled, had no mind to detain any part of the native population. They had often talked, in the season of their insolent prosperity, of driving away or even exterminating the whole. They were little affected by the loss of so many useful subjects to their King and country. They were blindly impelled by their little provincial propensities and party passions.

The English were put in possession of the Irish town the very day the capitulation was signed. The garrison marched out with arms and baggage, with drums beating, match lighted at both ends, and colours flying. They were allowed to select any six brass guns they chose to carry away with them, two mortar pieces, and half their ammunition. They withdrew in the same manner, with the same honours of war, from the English town in divisions accordingly as they embarked; nor was the English town, or Thomond Bridge, delivered up till the final embarkation had taken place. All the Irish destined to quit their country for ever, had not embarked till about the end of December. It was proved in the final embarkation with

what little sincerity the Irish officers promised their men, CHAP. V. they should depart accompanied by their wives; for some of them beginning to hesitate about quitting their country for ever, and even deserting, Sarsfield and his associates resolved to hurry on board all that remained; when the women, attempting to follow their husbands into the boats, were violently repulsed and dragged away, and some that clung to them with greater eagerness, even after they had pushed off from the shore, had their fingers cut off, and driven back into the water, where they were drowned. Harris, and other Protestant historians, delight to tell of the very bad reception they met with on their arrival in France, the quarters assigned to them being the lanes and hedges about Brest, not one admitted into the city. The officers reduced from their rank by the special orders of the French king,—the privates, abandoned to poverty and famine.

Certain it is, seldom do men abandoning their country in the manner the Irish did at this period experience much kindness, or receive a very flattering treatment from strangers. They were probably too, uncouth and mean in their appearance, ragged in their habiliments. As no eye, perhaps, but that of the artist himself could have discerned an Apollo Belvidere, or a Venus di Medicis, in the rude block out of which they were to be chizzled out, it could not be expected that vulgar eyes should have seen the hero, the man destined to extend the glory of a nation, or polish and enliven its gaiety in such men.

The capitulation of Limerick, at the precise juncture it took place, was a fortunate event for the English government, and ultimately for Ireland. How long the war would have continued to rage in its exhausted bowels, had it been delayed only a few days longer, no one could have determined. Scarce had the town been delivered up, when the long expected French fleet made its appearance, consisting of eighteen ships of war, which convoyed an immense number of transports, carrying three thousand men, and two hundred detached officers for the command

CHAP. V. of the Irish forces, and about ten thousand muskets destined to arm them. By the capitulation of Limerick, the Revolution of which I have undertaken to write the history, was completed in the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and nothing remains for me but to deduce a few remarks illustrative of its influence and effects, particularly in this last division of the empire, where alone its beneficial operation has been questioned.

In adverting to this Revolution as it affected Ireland, Mr. Burke has indulged in expressions of, I cannot help thinking, unguarded and injudicious asperity:—"By the total reduction of the kingdom of Ireland in 1691, the ruin of the native Irish, and in a great measure too, of the first races of the English, was completely accomplished. The new interest was settled with as solid a stability as any thing in human affairs can look for. All the penal laws of that unparalleled code of oppression, which were made after the last event, were manifestly the effects of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people, whom the victors delighted to trample upon, and were not at all afraid to provoke. They were not the effect of their fears, but of their security. They who carried on this system looked to the irresistible force of Great Britain for their support in their acts of power. They were quite certain, that no complaints of the natives would be heard on this side of the water, with any other sentiments than those of contempt and indignation. Their cries served only to augment their torture. Machines which could answer their purposes so well must be of excellent contrivance. Indeed, at that time in England, the double name of the complainants, *Irish* and *Papists*, (it would be hard to say singly which was the most odious) shut up the hearts of every one against them. Whilst that temper prevailed in all its force to a time within our memory, every measure was pleasing and popular, just in proportion as it tended to harass and ruin a set of people, who were looked upon as enemies to God and man; and indeed, as a race of bigotted savages, who were a disgrace

to human nature itself*." He had said in a preceding CHAP. V. page, "in Ireland it (the Revolution) was the establishment of the power of the smaller number, at the expense of the civil liberties and properties of the far greater part; and at the expense of the political liberties of the whole. It was, to say the truth, not a revolution, but a conquest." Whereas in England, "it was the struggle of the *great body* of the people for the establishment of their liberties against the efforts of a very *small faction*, who would have oppressed them."

When I venture to dissent from, much more to censure so great a man as Mr. Burke, I do it with no small effort, and with a deep impression of humility and diffidence. He is, in my judgment, the prince of political philosophers, the man who has secured to his country the palm of political philosophy in the literature of nations, whom I am proud to call my master and my guide; but in the case of Irish affairs his mind, I am afraid, was a little warped by circumstances. In the first passage I have quoted, he connects the penal enactments of the reign of Anne with the events of 1691, and blends them together under the name of the Irish Revolution. I cannot deny but he was justified in so doing. It was the success of the campaign of 1691 that enabled the handful of Irish Protestants to give unrestrained vent to all their angry passions, which, however, they could not entirely do till the next reign. They were checked by the honour and probity, and liberal, humane spirit of King William. Had Mr. Burke confined the severity of his remarks, and the application of his highly coloured picture to the conduct of these men, I should certainly not have accused him of *an unguarded and injudicious asperity*: but where he points the charge against the councils of England, and represents all the rigours exercised against the natives as the effects of the English connection and dominion, which he does still more distinctly in the preceding pages, where he treats the Revolution of 1691 as an English conquest; he, in the

* Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe.

CHAP. V. first place, contradicts, as I apprehend, the historical truth
— of the case ; and, in the second, favours a design which he has warmly reprobated throughout the whole of his work, —the design of a turbulent Irish faction to separate Ireland from England, by animating all the passions and prejudices of the Irish people against her.

The Revolution of 1691 was, as Mr. Burke has termed it, a conquest achieved by the arms of England ; I am willing to concede it ; but by it Ireland was conquered into happiness and freedom. There was at the time, from the whole mixed ferment of Irish passions, a violent revulsion from England in Ireland. It has been seen, the whole legislation of James's parliament was directed to break off the connection. The effect must have been, that Ireland would have become a distant province of France, of corrupt, tyrannical France, ripe for destruction. After having endured the despotism of her ancient monarchy, she would have had her share in all the miseries of her various revolutions. In this statement, I take it for granted, Ireland could never have maintained a state of independence ; but could she, her fate would have been little less lamentable. From this condition she was rescued by the arms of King William, and perhaps, (for I do not assert it) by the severe, and in many respects wicked code of Queen Anne. The religion of the inhabitants must have always preserved, by the natural course of human passions, their attachment to James and his family. Perhaps, I state it problematically and doubtfully, if the code of Queen Anne had not hung over the professors of that religion, the effect of that attachment would have been fulfilled, and Ireland dissevered from England. On that supposition, the sufferings of the generations that are gone by were necessary to prepare the Irish people for the station which they are now mature to occupy. If so, if the Fates had no other instruments to work with than the laws of Anne ; if there was no other avenue to the present fortunes of Ireland, than those laws ; I say it, after having duly weighed my words, bitter as the dose was which

they composed for their ancestors, they are a matter of CHAP. V.
gratitude and thanksgiving to Heaven to the Irish of —
this day.

The opinion is strong, and may give offence to many whose judgments I highly value and respect. It can be supported only by a dissertation on the past and present state of Ireland, and this dissertation shall conclude my historical undertaking. It may be thought not of a piece with a regular history, having too much the character of a pamphlet dictated by fugitive interests and addressed to a fugitive curiosity. Similar objections may have occurred to other parts; but my History, I think, would not be complete without this digression. The Revolution in Ireland would not be vindicated. I wish to be useful. My habitual residence is in Ireland, and I have had opportunities of observing and studying a country little known to the generality of English readers. The conclusions of my reading will often be illustrated by my personal remarks. In my progress, I will have occasion to introduce, but too frequently, the personal pronoun *I*, which, perhaps, may have been remarked in a preceding discussion. If I know myself, which I allow is a very difficult part of knowledge, this is not the result of a spirit of egotism, or a love of talking of myself, but *imposed* by the necessity of the case. The reader will have the goodness to consider me as a traveller in a foreign country, and in that light excuse me.

There are two circumstances attending Ireland, which must detain the attention of the most careless on its condition, and the most effectual means of promoting its prosperity—Its extreme value and importance as an integral portion of the British empire,—and its extreme depression, compared with almost every member with which it is associated. No one, at present, I believe, doubts of its value and importance. The disregard in which it appears to have been held at the period of the Revolution, will scarcely now find a refuge in the most vulgar, obtuse understanding of the most provincial Englishman.

CHAP. V. An island of beautiful fertility, taking acre for acre, highly superior to England*, expands its green bosom on the Western Ocean, stationed for the strength, and, if not for the strength, for the annoyance of Great Britain. Its situation fits it admirably for the commerce of the world, but more particularly for that of the western hemisphere. Its whole line of coast is indented with capacious bays and harbours. It is plentifully irrigated with rivers and streams capable of transporting its products from one extremity to the other. Its surface extends to about twelve millions of Irish acres†. This extent of territory is abundantly refreshed and invigorated by kindly and salubrious skies. It is occupied by a population of above five millions of souls, the male part an active, hardy, intelligent, acute race, capable of the noblest exertions of valour, and the finest effusions of genius. What the natives of this island can rise to in arms and arts is evinced by the fame of a Wellington, and the less brilliant, but perhaps still more uncommon celebrity of a Sheridan, that *whole Menander* of our times, as he has been elegantly called, one of the sweetest writers and most accomplished men whom any age or country ever produced‡. Yet is this island so circumstanced, and glorying itself in such natives, one of the most miserable countries in Europe.

Dissertation on the past and present state of Ireland.

* Young's Irish Tour.

† In computing the effect of the Act of Settlement, I have followed the lesser mensuration of Sir William Petty, who was connected with the framers of the Act, and whose calculations may be supposed to have been known to them, and in some measure guided them; but I learn from Dr. Beaufort, in his Memoir on the Map of Ireland, that the number of acres given by Petty is considerably below the truth. The number stated by Lord Clare, in his speech quoted by Mr. Plowden, is 11,697,629.

‡ This passage was written before the death of that great man. He died in circumstances, which, I must think, reflected no great honour on the country. Notwithstanding the habitual and extreme imprudence of his past life, it would have been no derogation to the principles of public economy, to have set him above the importunate cries of creditors, and have made a handsome provision for his old age. There was no danger of its operating as a *precedent*. Who could have claimed under the example of a Sheridan? Frenchmen indulged their sneers; and this always vexes me more than I can express.

That it was so at the period to which this history refers, CHAP. V. I believe admits of little doubt; and that the wretchedness has continued in a very great degree to this day will, I am afraid, be pronounced by the greater part of travellers who have visited it. That things are not quite so bad as the first appearance would indicate, I know, indeed, to be the case. The Irish peasant is little stinted in food, and has abundance of fuel, two main necessities towards the comfort as well as the sustenance of human life. But the food which is lavished in his cottage, seldom rises above a vegetable root, accompanied, in very many instances, by plenty of milk. The condition of the English peasant, however smiling the appearance of his cottage, the neat arrangement of his domestic utensils, however decent his raiment, is often, I have been informed, worse in the article of food, not to mention fuel. But all the little circumstances I have noticed in his appearance denote a certain rank in the scale of intellectual beings. They denote a provident, thinking creature; whereas the squalid appearance of the Irish, covered with dirt and rags, sharing the coarse plenty of their board, with their hogs in a mud-built tenement filled with smoke, and open to all the winds of heaven, not only points to the absence of all comforts, but indicates a brute improvident nature, little above the level of the animal creation; nor is this indication repelled by the circumstance—that often amidst all this seeming wretchedness is concealed treasure from which abundance of comforts might flow. It rather strengthens the conclusion which I have suggested. On the whole I must take it as a fact, that Ireland is one of the most miserable countries, if not absolutely the most so, in Europe. I speak most particularly of the part which I inhabit. Many parts I have not seen, and there the picture may vary. I have not been on the Continent since I was a boy; I remember but faintly; but as far as I do remember, the state of the peasantry was much above that of the Irish. There was an appearance of cheerfulness, of festivity, which is not to be traced in Ireland. The

CHAP. V. cottages were much better; there were some domestic utensils denoting comfort. The peasant with his brown loaf and his bottle of bad wine, seemed to enjoy himself. —Whence the misery of Ireland? a most important question, not only to the Irish themselves, but to all who feel an interest in the fortunes of the British empire. Causes which baffle all search, in soil, climate, geographical situation, in the whole compass of nature, must be sought for in the nomenclature of moral and political evils.

The first cause, which to this day has not ceased entirely to operate, is, I apprehend, in the primitive institutions, attended by a corresponding system of manners of the aboriginal Irish.

It has been the fashion of Irish patriots, as they have called themselves, all who have been intent on pandering to the prejudices and passions of the multitude, to attribute the misery of their country, which they are the most willing to admit, and even disposed to exaggerate, to the neighbourhood and domination of England. If we believe them, had Ireland been placed in the middle of the Atlantic ocean, and left to her native institutions of policy and government, without any manner of English control or interference, she would at this day exhibit a rich and prosperous population. If this allegation be true, it will follow, that before the arrival of the English, the Irish tribes composed a happy and prosperous community, containing the seeds of expanding prosperity that should keep pace with the progress of the other European nations. Let us inquire into the fact.

The Irish multitude has been amused with an absurd fable of Irish legislation and Irish magnificence, nine hundred and fifty years before Christ. The druids and learned men representing the nation assembled in solemn convention every three years at Teomor or Tarah. Sumptuous entertainments preceded and followed their legislative deliberations. Shields and targets and heraldic emblazonments were displayed in the grand hall of the banquet. In addition to this tale of romance, the vene-

CHAP. V.
rable Bede is quoted.—In his time, it seems, (the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century of the Christian era) the youth from all the nations of Europe resorted to Ireland for instruction. There was no less than seven thousand students at the college of Armagh, only one of the many seminaries of learning established in different parts of the country. Kings and potentates sent embassies to this remote island for learned and pious men to convey knowledge to their subjects. Ireland was celebrated and called the island of saints. However, in the midst of these flourishing circumstances, a handful of English landing on the coast, the trembling inhabitants fled on all sides, and had recourse to prayers and pious supplications to protect them from the invaders, not to arms to resist them*. This fact, which has escaped from the holy monk, may lead us to form some notion of the learning which he so much extols,—the barbarous theology and pious drivelling of those times, which rather weakens and unmans, than braces and exalts the human mind. Where real knowledge flourishes, and real prosperity embraces a community, they never fail to produce a proud, military spirit, which hurls defiance at the bare menace of invasion. In the praying fugitives from a handful of English, we recognize the degenerate, grovelling disciples of monks, not the members of a flourishing and well-regulated society. But whatever was the degree and kind of prosperity in Bede's time, it had entirely vanished before the arrival of the English in the twelfth century. The interval had completely swept away, not only the monuments of any species of learning and national prosperity, but almost the vestiges of civilization. The English found, on their arrival, one of the most wretched, feeble, degenerate races that ever existed. The whole population had dwindled (according to the computation of Sir William Petty) to three hundred thousand persons, crawling over the extent of surface which has been mentioned. Not a stone or

* Bede, quoted by Leland.

CHAP. V. brick edifice was to be seen among them, with the exception of a few monasteries and churches*; no money, not a remnant of foreign trade. A little of the superstitious learning of former times still lingered. Some missals and legends of saints were to be discovered, but not a trace of geometry, astronomy, anatomy, architecture, engineering, painting, carving, or any kind of manufacture. The English did not cure these evils. Centuries elapsed before they were, in any degree, corrected, or even mitigated. The invaders were far from effecting what, in any propriety of language, can be called a conquest. Their regular settlements did not extend beyond a tract of territory, about twenty miles round Dublin, known by the denomination of the *pale*. If any numbers established themselves at a distance, they were soon drawn in by the contagion of national customs and manners, which sometimes penetrated even to the *pale*. Many English families discarded their names and language, and coalesced so entirely with the natives, as not to be distinguished. The natives continued in possession of the far greater part of the kingdom, nor do they seem to have been much disturbed for the space of centuries, either in their customs, which were called the Brehon laws, or in any of their primitive institutions and rude forms of policy. It was not by abusing the rights of a supposed conquest, but by not carrying them far enough, that the English inflicted the chief detriment upon Ireland during this immense length of time. The whole society of the native Irish remained crumbled into numberless septs or chieferies, possessing no tie of union, or recognizing any common authority. They were engaged in perpetual predatory hostilities with each other. This condition, so well adapted to spread wretchedness and poverty over the face of the country, but which may be traced in other parts of the globe, was highly aggravated by institutions of a singular perverseness and noxious tendency, which, I believe, were peculiar to Ireland.

* Sir J. Davies, p. 128.

The land was possessed in common by the whole sept, and, CHAP. V.
for fear any principles of property should grow out of this state, the temporary and loose division which was necessary for the maintenance of human life, underwent an entire variation, and was completely confounded at the death of every one individual in the tribe. His children and family were carried, perhaps, to the farthest extremity of the district. The field, which one man had occupied and tilled, was given to a distant stranger; the corn, which one had sowed, was reaped by another. But, with a studious attention to the maintenance of idleness among all the members of the sept, the *caufinny*, or chief, who presided over the distribution, took particular care to exclude from any share any person who could be proved to have taken up any trade, or industrious occupation, or sought to enrich himself by any mode of honest labour. To this notable system of jurisprudence was added a corresponding system of manners. In other countries, where clans, or family tribes, have obtained, the chief, or head of the family, has had to support, in a great degree, all the inferior members. His house was open to them; they feasted at his table, and shared his plenty. But in Ireland the chief had no plenty to share; he kept no house, and spread no board. The duty of hospitality was shifted to all the humble individuals on the land. Every house was, at all seasons, and all hours, open to his intrusion; he lived roving from one to another; he eat with one of his dependants, and got drunk with another. If a handsome wife or daughter tempted his concupiscence, she was but feebly protected from his violence. This was called *coshering*, a custom which has not yet entirely spent itself, but, in some degree, survives under the name of Irish hospitality. Another custom of the Irish was *fosterage*. If any man was considered as wealthy, his children were nursed from home, and the husband, children, and even the remote relations of the nurse, became a kin to the man of wealth, to the gentleman. They looked upon themselves as gentlefolks likewise, and would have

CHAP. V. deemed themselves degraded by any occupation of industry. From this relationship sprung up a new combination and confederacy, for the purposes of plunder and wrong, the fosterers, in their most distant branches, being bound by every principle that is held obligatory among a rude people, to support the great man in all his misdoings.

This, then, for ages after the arrival of the *English*, appears to have been the condition of Ireland. The greater part of the country, overspread with morasses, and woods, and forests, was inhabited by the native septs, who were, in a great measure, abandoned to their own institutions and customs, their chieftains, and Brehons or judges. In their internal affairs, they suffered little molestation from the *English*, who were, in general, content to guard the few districts they had fully reduced, and inhabited, from their incursions, and to enact remedies against the progressive degeneracy observable among themselves, who, after having long resided among the *Irish*, became habituated to their manners and customs, contracted a relish for them, and gradually adopted them. This was the sole object of the statutes of Kilkenny, which Mr. Burke conceives of a similar import with the penal code, enacted against the Catholics in the reign of Anne. This code he has described with his usual energy of language, and, perhaps, with a little of the over colouring of fancy in these terms:—"It was a complete system, full of coherence and consistency, well digested and contrived in all its parts. It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man." Now, the statutes of Kilkenny were not directed to the oppression, impoverishment, or debasement of any portion of the human race. With respect to the *Irish*, that was sufficiently done by their own laws, and institutions, and forms of policy, and famous Brehon code; and the statutes were framed chiefly to prevent the old *English* settlers from being

enticed into a participation of their misery and debasement. They even contained some provisions favourable to the natives. English individuals were prohibited from making war against them at their pleasure; and a very oppressive exaction, which the English had adopted from the code of laws or manners of their Irish neighbours, and denominated by them, "coin and livery," was attempted to be abolished. To rescue the English settlers from the effects of example and contagion, was the object of the statutes in question, and this object produced some resemblance and analogy with the penal code against the Catholics. The Irish Protestants, I suppose, believed in the superior truth and purity of their particular mode of Christianity, as opposed to the Catholic ritual; yet certainly they appear to have had little confidence in the cogency of their arguments, and no little apprehension that their members would be tempted over to the other side. For many of the clauses and provisions in their code must have been suggested by this want of confidence, and this apprehension. An elaborate scheme of pains and penalties was introduced, to guard against any Protestants marrying a Catholic wife, for fear, no doubt, that the disciple of a Chillingworth should be robbed of his religious creed by the mild, persuasive, insinuating theology of the object of his domestic affections. So by the statutes of Kilkenny, all intermarriages and other domestic associations, between the English and Irish, are strictly forbidden, and guarded against by pains and penalties. The framers of them did not trust more to the superior advantage of civilization and refinement, than the Protestants to the superior truth of their religion. Such of the English, no doubt, as remained faithful to the laws and manners and language of their country, despised and abominated the Irish. They regarded them as aliens, not only from their own nation and government, but, it may be said, from human nature itself. By the Brehon code, any man might murder another with impunity, on paying a certain fine or mulct. In this the Irish did not

CHAP. V. differ from other savage tribes or nations. The English
———pleaded, that if the natives could thus commit murder among themselves, it would be unjust to punish capitally one of them for murdering an Irishman. Sir John Davies has preserved a curious plea by an Englishman, to an indictment for murder:—" *Venit et bene cognovit* (the murderer) *quod prædictum Johannem interfecit: dicit tamen quod per ejus interfectionem feloniam committere non potuit, quia dicit, quod prædictus Johannes fuit purus Hibernicus et non de libero sanguine,*" &c. Such is the strange depravity of which human nature is susceptible, that many Englishmen, who, as it often happened in those times, quitted the precincts of civilization, and became members of one of the native tribes, abdicating all tokens and remembrances of their original, were said to be tempted, among other motives, by the more unrestrained licentiousness of homicide. A more free copulation with the women was another motive, as the Irish, though nominally Christians, paid little regard to the sanctity of marriage, any more than to any other institution of civilized life. Sir John Davies describes them, among their fastnesses in the woods and forests, "keeping their creaghts, or herds of cattle, living by the milk of the cow, without husbandry or tillage; there they increased and multiplied unto infinite numbers, by promiscuous generation among themselves;" and bastards were admitted on the same footing with the children of marriage in the frequent divisions of the land. They were little molested in their savage haunts by the English governors, who, for the most part, turned away from them with fastidious disdain and horror. A respectable military force would easily have subdued them, for they were as cowardly as savage. In all the wars of that period, the English appear like a superior race of mortals, driving them before them wherever they ventured to appear; so that their institutions were as little fitted for the formation and improvement of warlike habits, as for the promotion of the humane arts of life.

The unfortunate natives, occasionally awakened to a sense

of the miseries of their condition, and, in the words of Davies, “ became humble suitors, to have the benefit and protection of the English laws.” They would gladly have discarded their Brehon tenures, which afforded no manner of security or provision for their families, and risen to the terms of English landholders. They met with a cold reception, and sometimes a harsh repulse, from the lord deputies, who found it more convenient and more agreeable to the indolent, listless policy of their administrations, to carry on a direct intercourse with the chieftains, and gratify them, than favour the dependants at the expense of a system, of which they were not prepared to attempt the overthrow. When an unsuccessful war, carried on by any of the septs with the English government, threw into its power a portion of territory in the nature of a forfeiture, it was common to select some favoured chief, and vest it in him as an estate of inheritance, accompanying the grant often with an English title of honour. But while his estate was raised to the English standard, the inferiors had no share in the benefit. They were left to the old Irish tenures, and exposed to the exactions and oppressions of the chief, in a greater degree than before, from the superior estate he had received. When any particular sept became, in an extraordinary manner, formidable, the representatives of the English power would excite others against it, and endeavour to preserve a balance among the furious combatants. Thus did the presence of the English, which, with a little vigour and exertion, might have extirpated the vicious Irish system, only add new evils to what itself was naturally pregnant with. Though the government did not, or could not, exert the rights of conquest, individuals indulged in all the insolence of conquerors. They murdered Irishmen without restraint. Prone as they were to adopt Irish customs and manners, they did not fail to adopt the oppressions and exactions of the Irish chiefs, and carried them still further, with all the zeal of imitators. The Irish laid bonaght upon their dependants, that is, when going to war, they let loose

CHAP. V. — their soldiers upon all the inhabitants of the country, without distinction, and seized upon any manner of provisions they could find, both for man and horse, without giving any payment to the owner. The English great men in the same manner ravaged the Irish borders, under the name of coyne and livery. The soldiers, receiving no regular pay from England, where the government was usually otherwise occupied than thinking of the wants of the English settlers in Ireland, paid themselves by these depredations. From these causes grew up a fanatical hatred, on the part of the natives, against the English, which the chiefs took care to fan and foment. They knew, that if the English system of laws and customs once superseded theirs, there would be an end of their cosherings and multiplied oppressions. They would be reduced to the tame enjoyments of peace and civilization. Their trembling dependants would be raised to the rank of tenants, and the various, irregular payments exacted from them, limited to fixed rents;—they would enjoy a certain degree of independence, and be able to transmit their possessions to their children and posterity. The chiefs were further stimulated by that perverse hatred of those enjoyments, which they were incapable of relishing and procuring, which will not appear incredible to nice observers of the various movements of our corrupt nature. They detested the English settlers, for that degree of civilization which they possessed. In obedience to this “Eunuchs spight,” they forbad every species of improvement, or bettering the condition of life in their several tribes. One Sir Neal Garve, as late as the reign of Elizabeth, Moryson tells us, restrained his people from ploughing; and one Con O’Neil, surnamed Bacco, denounced a solemn curse upon all his posterity who should learn the English language, sow corn, or build stone-wall houses. Few of them were to be gained by all the caresses of the English governors. More solid bribes would tempt them from their retreats, and they scrupled no ceremonies of submission, or promises of better behaviour in future.

They were lavish of the most solemn oaths of fidelity. CHAP. V.

But no sooner did they return to their fastnesses with their money, than they renewed their exertions to animate their tribes against the *strangers*. If at any time the septs suspended their furious animosity against each other, they turned their raging, though impotent hostility, against the settlers, and thus was a new source of contention and desolation opened to unfortunate Ireland, by the arrival of the English. The Irish were generally worsted in the contest, and returned to their haunts with their numbers thinned, their misery embittered, and their spirits further depressed and broken.

The chieftains had the hellish pleasure of seeing all their denunciations against improvement literally fulfilled. The lazy habits of their followers exactly coincided with their views. Hatred of civilization and improvement seems, too, a natural passion among savage tribes, and when this hatred was further inflamed by the names of strangers and foreigners, no wonder it produced its full effect. Some individuals and even numbers had shown a disposition to exchange their rude state for the English condition, but repulsed, they only clung more eagerly to their own system. Others were deterred from following their example. The result is scarcely credible, but is attested by an authority which all writers on Irish affairs have agreed in admitting,—Sir John Davies. His words are, speaking in the time of James I.—“I dare boldly say, that never any particular person either before or since (the arrival of the English in Ireland) did build any stone or brick house for his private habitation, but such as have lately obtained estates, according to the course of the law of England. Neither did any of them in all this time plant any gardens or orchards, inclose or improve their lands, live together in settled villages or towns, nor made any provision for posterity*.” Fiennes Moryson, who visited Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth, and the beginning

* Tracts, p. 129.

CHAP. V. of that of James, in his Travels describes the native Irish
— as rather a more wretched race than the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, and the most untutored savages are represented in the accounts of our voyagers and navigators, feeding upon carrion, which, he says, they greedily devour in the last state of fetid putrefaction, going about naked, even their chieftains, in the most northern parts of the island. This last assertion Dr. Leland is inclined to discredit. I can only say Moryson affirms the fact as having fallen under his own personal observation; and Moryson was a man of some character in life, brother of Sir Richard Moryson, vice-president of Munster. But supposing him, in some features of his picture, not to have adhered strictly to the truth, and even to have sacrificed his personal veracity; after every allowance enough will remain to warrant us in thinking that the misery of Ireland at that and the preceding periods, has had no parallel in the history of countries supposed to be at all civilized; and to that misery much of her present depression must be traced. The share which England had in producing it, has been stated without any attempt at extenuation. Whatever were the wrongs of the English against this unhappy island, the greatest without any comparison was that they did not carry *their conquest* far enough, that from various motives they indulged the Irish too long in their own laws, institutions, and customs. It was under the baneful, poisonous shade of these that the land was blasted, and the seeds of future vegetation destroyed. It was by moderation on the part of the conquerors, not by their insolence and licentiousness, that Ireland was chiefly aggrieved. Insolence and licentiousness in private individuals for the most part had some share, but how very inadequate to produce the misery and desolation which spread itself on all sides!

The native Irish, distributed in their septs, were within the limits they occupied as an independent nation. Their chieftains assumed, and were allowed the titles of kings and princes, acknowledging merely a distant feudal

dependence upon the crown of England. It was not till CHAP. V. the reign of James I. that this system was broken up, and finally dissolved, and the Irish people reduced to the condition of subjects. The defeat of a very general rebellion, in the preceding reign, in which most of the septs had more or less participated, had laid them at the mercy of the crown. The King's representatives insisted upon a surrender of the lands of the kingdom to be reconveyed to their present occupiers, but to be henceforth held by them on the terms of the English law. The chieftains received in the place of their various exactions a stipulated rent from each of their dependants, proportioned to the value of what their former payments might amount to. The whole kingdom was divided into shire land, which had been very circumscribed, and not strictly maintained in preceding periods. Sheriffs and justices of the peace were appointed in each of their shires, and their authority upheld. The judges dispensing the law of England, proceeded on their circuits. The Brehon code was declared to be completely abolished. Then for the first time was the conquest of Ireland achieved. Arms had, indeed, prepared the way for it; but it was the immediate effect of a vigorous and determined spirit of legislation. From the period of this conquest so accomplished, Ireland dates her progress more or less retarded, more or less accelerated to the prosperous circumstances of other European nations. The seminal principles of her prosperity she owes to England, which subsequent events had nearly stifled, but which has fortunately survived them, and which, by fostering care on the part of the government, and prudent conduct on that of the nation, may expand as diffusively as they appear even in the neighbouring island.

At the same time that James legislated in this manner for the native Irish, he was ambitious of founding a colony of English and Scotch in the kingdom, conceiving their example might excite the emulation of the former, and assist in animating their industry, which had so long

CHAP. V. slumbered under the pressure of their pernicious institutions. The vast tracts of land he obtained by the flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, he disposed of to adventurers from England and Scotland, as has been related in a former part of this history, admitting the natives among them but in very limited numbers, and with many jealous precautions. This colony, he introduced, is the foundation of the present ruling party in Ireland. Pleased with the success of his first establishments, he went on, year after year, extending them. Under one pretext or other, he continued adding to the extent of the forfeited lands, till they embraced nearly the whole province of Ulster, and amounted to considerably more than two millions of acres. He had carried forward these confiscations to the other provinces, when he closed his reign and his life. All the settlers of his importation had embraced the reformed faith promulgated in England in the reign of Henry VIII. They were Protestants possessed with the most furious and fanatical passions against Popery, and every thing belonging to it. They were most of them of the Presbyterian communion. They had left their country at a time when the Puritans had spread their influence among all ranks of men, and came to Ireland animated with all their spirit. The Reformation, when it had come over from England, recommended by the preaching and arguments of Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, who had been appointed to that see for the purpose of countenancing and supporting it, encountered the most strenuous opposition from all descriptions of the Irish. Its coming from England was enough to counteract all the controversial exertions of Browne, and prepossess *all* against it. The monks and friars, who swarmed over the country, and lived like the chieftains by *coshering* among the poor inhabitants, excited all the prejudices and passions of a rude people against it. Some injudicious acts committed by the zeal of the reformers came in aid of their exhortations. The venerable cathedral of Down was delivered over to the flames. The monuments

of St. Patrick, so revered by the Irish, of Bridget and Columkille, kindred saints, perished in the same manner. CHAP. V.
A miraculous crucifix of the Abbey of Ballibagan, and a celebrated crozier, supposed to have belonged to the great St. Patrick, underwent the same treatment, and were consumed with every mark of contempt and derision. The monks and friars violently exclaimed against the profanation and sacrilege. The old English families of the *pale*, who had become thoroughly Irish, and imbibed all the antipathy of the natives among whom they lived, to the country from which they derived their descent, joined in resisting the new scheme of religion; yet, marvellous to relate, the Reformation was adopted in the Irish parliament, and in the reign of Elizabeth a code of penal laws framed against Popish recusants. How this happened when most of the prelates in the upper house, if not all, with the exception of Browne, were strenuous in the opposition, before a Protestant interest had been formed in Ireland, or any new boroughs introduced subservient to its purposes, has never been sufficiently explained. Mr. Plowden, who wanted no diligence of inquiry, has not attempted any explanation. He only says vaguely, that the penal statute of the second of Elizabeth was surreptitiously obtained by the management of Stanyhurst, Speaker of the House of Commons, and who was devoted to the views of the court. These acts of the Irish legislature in those reigns appear the more extraordinary, when we read of the considerable stand made by the Catholic party in the last parliament of James I. after the establishment of the northern colony, and the introduction of the new boroughs, and the consequent formation of a Protestant interest. They almost prevailed in the choice of a speaker, Sir John Everard, in opposition to the most active management and elaborate artifices of Lord Deputy Chichester, a fanatical Protestant.

But though the Reformation was adopted and promulgated by the Irish parliament, it scarcely penetrated at all to the septs, who, before James I. existed in the manner of an independent community, having little connection

CHAP. V. with the seat of government, or the acts of the English administration. The old chieftains of the Irish race were too much interested in resisting every thing proposed by the English government, and which they deemed part of a system for the overthrow of their pestilential laws and customs, and the abolition of their cosherings and other exactions. Epistles were transmitted to them from the papal court, calculated for the meridian of the wretched bigotry and absurd vanity which reigned among them. Emissaries from Rome joined the native monks and friars in animating their opposition. Yet, we are told, that a few of them, particularly the great chieftain of the family of Desmond, under the pressure of a defeat and humiliation in battle, subscribed to the reformed articles, and evinced a disposition of introducing the Reformation among their people; but these acts were like their multiplied submissions and oaths of allegiance, and loyalty, merely illusory, and observed no longer than the exigence continued, which had extorted them. L'Abbé Mac Geoghegan may be well founded in his assertion, that not above sixty of the Irish race, during the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. Elizabeth, and James I. fell off from the religion of their forefathers, notwithstanding the oppression to which they were condemned, and the temptations held out to them.

The reign of James I. is in every respect a new era in the history of Ireland. It is the era of the Protestant interest and Protestant ascendancy, or rather exclusive Protestant tyranny and domination in the kingdom. If he deserved well of his Irish subjects by breaking up their system of septs, and abolishing their Brehon laws and institutions, introducing the law of England in their place, it must be owned, the taste he acquired for forfeitures and confiscations, not restrained by any considerations of justice or prudence, produced an universal sense of insecurity in property, which considerably retarded the improvements of every kind which his early regulation had set in motion. Not only immense tracts of land in all the provinces were declared forfeited by the

ancient proprietors, on vague allegations of treason, not CHAP.V.
subjected to any very strict trial or judicial investigation, ———
but an inquisition erected into the titles which had been conveyed from the crown itself, in exchange for the old Irish tenures. Some petty informalities in the conveyances were tyrannically and cruelly laid hold of, and many expelled from their rightful possessions. This inquisition was carried still further in the reign of his successor, which operated, as stated in a petition from the House of Commons to the Lord Deputy Strafford:—"It is the principal cause," says the petition, "of the slow improving, planting, and building in this land*." On the fall of the old Irish system, the uncertain estates which had before obtained, being exchanged for estates of inheritance according to the laws of England, considerable improvements in building, planting, and decoration of the land were carried on, which, co-operating with the natural fertility of the soil, and benignity of the climate, might in a century have entirely changed the face of the country, and brought it to a resemblance to England, had not this cruel check and stop been interposed to them. This temporary stop was followed by events, which went nearly to sweep away the whole civilization of Ireland for ever in one whirlwind of destruction, and not only the civilization, but the very existence of the Irish race. The new domination introduced by the northern colony displayed itself with the most tremendous characters.

I am going to treat a part of Irish history which has been the subject of much angry controversy,—the far-famed *Irish massacre*. My representation of that event will be very different from that of Hume. I confess I have been determined by the arguments brought forward in that very acute scheme of political reasoning, "Historical Memoirs of the Rebellion in the year 1641," &c. which have produced complete satisfaction in my mind, that the guides which Hume followed, such as Temple and Borlase, were entitled to no manner of credit.

* Quoted at length in *Historical Memoirs of the Rebellion*, &c. p. 28.

CHAP. V. The island of Great Britain was on the eve of that baneful civil war, which was to sweep away its most venerable and sacred institutions. The party leagued against the throne, had determined on an open rebellion. The King, though not nominally dispossessed of all his authority, had, in reality, lost the far greater part of it. He had returned baffled and disgraced from Scotland, where he had been compelled to subscribe to the most extravagant pretensions of his rebellious subjects. The *Long Parliament* had met which was destined absolutely to dethrone him. In these circumstances, the government of Ireland fell into the hands of Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, with the title of lords justices. They were of the fanatical party which had been newly introduced into the kingdom, and were in intimate connection with all the fanatics and rebels in Great Britain. They paid little attention or regard to the mandates, or even communications of the King, whom they saw every day descending in the scale of power. They were entirely influenced and swayed by the rebel faction, who were proportionably rising, and whose complete triumph their fond imaginations already anticipated. Hume designs them as men of small abilities, as weak men; but he afterwards makes an admission which must place them in a very different light to the minds of his readers:—"The justices," he says, "willing to foment the rebellion, in a view of profiting by the multiplied forfeitures, henceforth thought of nothing," &c. Hume had no motive to misrepresent the transaction, but he took the opportunity of launching out into what he thought a very fine description. The sentence, however, which has been quoted from him, reveals the whole of the mystery, and reduces the *Irish massacre* to its just measure,—the insurrection of a poor barbarous people, excited by numberless provocations for the purpose of depriving them of their remaining possessions, and justifying their almost entire extermination. The lords justices appear not as weak men, but as men of atrocious wickedness.

The extensive confiscations which had so largely

enriched the Protestant adventurers in the reign of James, CHAP. V. and had raised them to the situation of the ruling party in the nation, only served to excite an appetite for more. They regarded with a greedy eye what remained of property to the ancient inhabitants. Impelled, too, by the most furious fanaticism of religion, they panted for the delights of bloodshed, havoc, and extermination, carried among the miserable Papists. They were too confident in the numbers which would pour in to their assistance from Great Britain, and surveyed with too much contempt the dispersed bands of natives, whose weakness their numerous defeats and discomfitures in circumstances of far less depression had sufficiently evinced, to entertain any apprehensions for the event. In pursuance of these views, the lords justices omitted no one act or proceeding which could tend to produce a rising among those whom they had devoted to destruction. In particular, they threatened the remains of the northern Irish with the irruption of a powerful army from the neighbouring shores of Scotland, where the fanaticism of the *covenant* was in all its ferment, and where the people had so heated their brains with *Antichrist and the whore of Babylon*, that there was no kind of horror which they would not with devout exultation commit the moment they got within the precincts of *the whore's* adherents,—confirmed Papists. The Irishmen, of weak arms but strong passions, roused by the proceedings and menaces of the lords justices, discovered considerable symptoms of agitation, and some of the chiefs bethought themselves of opening a correspondence with Spain and other Catholic states. The King, who received intelligence from his ambassadors, did not fail to apprise the lords justices. They, who were not much used to pay any deference to his communications, and who had their object in view, treated his admonition with sovereign disregard. A rising took place, as they had prepared and concerted, which has been called the *Irish massacre*. That some blood was shed, is true, which ought to be laid to the memories of the lords justices. But, that Temple and

CHAP. V. Borlase, and their followers in their long list of murders and massacre, were guilty of the most barefaced and impudent exaggerations, I think the author of the "Historical Memoirs," &c. has completely demonstrated. I refer for the proofs to his very ingenious work. These writers represent more Protestants slain in a few days than could have existed over the whole kingdom. The animosity which the Irish bore them, was certainly sufficiently zealous, nor would they have much scrupled to embrue their hands in their blood; but the representations of Temple and Borlase are, evidently, a tissue of party falsehoods, unsupported by proofs or internal marks of probability. What then shall we say of Hume, who, at the distance of more than a century, has not only servilely followed them, but added a number of circumstances fabricated by his own imagination, not naturally the most fertile, but stimulated to an extraordinary effort for the purpose? This is some of the insipid, rhetorical rhapsody which he has produced:—"The wife weeping over her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke."—"Here the husband, bidding a final adieu to his expiring family, envied them that fate which he expected so soon to share. There, the son, having long supported his aged parent, with reluctance obeyed his last commands, and abandoning him in this uttermost distress, reserved himself to the hopes of avenging his death, which all his efforts could not prevent or delay." How applicable to all this, are Dr. Johnson's observations on some similar painting? "Sir, it is not history, it is imagination. He who describes what he never saw, draws from fancy*," &c. The writer, who, in this manner asperses the fame of a whole nation, has more to answer for than the violation of all sound principles of criticism and taste.

Hume might have reserved his rhetoric, such as it was, for what followed, where the fact and reality would have

* Boswell's Life of Johnson.

outrun the utmost strainings of his imagination. What-CHAP. V.
ever were the offences of the unfortunate Irish, they were
most bitterly expiated. Never was the vial of God's
wrath more copiously poured out upon a people. Many
of the zealots of the Protestant party in Ireland fled to
England, professing the utmost terror, and told a tale which
was greedily received by congenial minds. They spread
abroad all the exaggerations which Temple and Borlase
afterwards echoed, and which afforded the canvass for all
Hume's painting. We may imagine there was not a
fanatic in the parliamentary armies who did not burn to
shed the blood of Irish and Papists. The regicide par-
liament delayed the day of vengeance till they had over-
come all opposition at home. They then sent over
Cromwell at the head of his ferocious troops. Cromwell
brought with him all the bigotry of his party, that brutal
contempt for the ordinary feelings of men, which has
ever characterised conquerors of his description, and all
the little narrow passions and prejudices which may be
supposed to have corrupted the heads and hearts of low-
bred provincial Englishmen of that day, inflamed to the
height of rage by the stories which had been studiously
resounded in their ears. He began his operations with the
siege of Drogheda, and easily prevailing over the Irish,
destitute of discipline and regular military habits, took the
town by storm. For five whole days he indulged his
brutal soldiers in an indiscriminate massacre, ordering
that no quarter should be given to age, sex, or condition.
After this he meditated the utter extermination of the
ancient inhabitants of the land. Thousands were driven
at the point of the sword into foreign parts. A feeble
remnant of population, that had not the means of trans-
porting itself, was driven from the three other provinces,
and cooped up in the wildernesses of Connaught. Crom-
well was followed by Ireton and other parliamentary
generals, and till the restoration of lawful government, no
mercy was shown, no respite given to the unfortunate
people of Ireland. This is what Hume has not related,

CHAP. V. though he has commented in so flourishing a manner on
—— the *Irish massacre*.

Mr. Fox's patriot, the republican Ludlow, was an active personage in the whole of this bloody warfare carried on against the Irish, an eye-witness of almost every horror committed, and himself, by his own confession, the man who ordered and superintended the perpetration of many acts of destruction. He who was so fond of *the people*, when he thought he might convert their name to his own factious purposes, so attached to the doctrine of *numbers* when he was intent upon overturning ancient privileges and rank, devoted, without remorse, the whole population of a country to destruction, was one of the leaders in carrying desolation and havoc among the *numbers*, when the people and numbers were evidently adverse to his faction. He was with Cromwell at the butchery of Drogheda, and one of the principal officers in the butchering army. The destruction of a whole city but feebly excited the emotions of the stern republican. His expressions in adverting to the scene of carnage which he had calmly surveyed, are of singular barbarity, *which extraordinary severity* (a massacre of five days) *I presume was used to discourage others from making opposition**. A variety of anecdotes equally honourable to his humanity may be gleaned out of his confused, ill-digested, ill-written Memoirs. A number of poor Irish had retired into a cavern hollowed out of a rock, to attend the celebration of mass according to the religion of their forefathers. Ludlow ordered a fire to be lighted at the mouth of the cavern, and stopping up every vent and aperture by which the smoke could escape, succeeded in deadening all resistance. Some of the wretched creatures were entirely suffocated. "About an hour after this, one of them was heard to groan very strongly, and afterwards more weakly, when we presumed that the work was done; yet the fire was continued till about midnight—the passage

* Vol. i. p. 303.

being cleared, our soldiers entered, and having put about CHAP. V.
fifteen to the sword, brought four or five out alive, with
the priest's robes, a crucifix, chalice, and other furniture
of that kind." In another passage, he relates such cir-
cumstances of ignorance and simplicity in the poor natives,
as must have softened any heart but one steeled against
every emotion by savage fanaticism. Through all the
poverty of Ludlow's style they work their way to *our*
hearts, and soften us even at this day into tenderness.
"Being on my march, on the other side of Nenagh, an
advanced party found two of the rebels, one of whom was
killed by the guard before I came up to them, the other
was saved; and being brought before me at Portumna,
and I asking him if he had a mind to be hanged? he only
answered, *if you please*." Ludlow, instead of melting into
expressions of pity, observes contemptuously "so insen-
sibly stupid were many of these poor creatures*!" In a
third anecdote, simplicity softens into the most affecting
tenderness of nature. At the siege of Limerick the par-
liamentary general ordered several to be hanged, who had
attempted to escape from the plague which raged within
the walls, "one of those that were to be hanged was the
daughter of an old man, who was in that number which
was to be sent back. He desired that he might be hanged
in the room of his daughter, but that was refused, and he
with the rest driven back to the town." The famine which
followed these multiplied ravages of war, produced extre-
mities the bare relation of which freezes the blood with
horror. Ludlow is again the narrator:—"A stock which
had been so exhausted by the wars, that many of the
natives who had committed all manner of waste upon the
possessions of the English, were driven to such extre-
mities that they starved with hunger; having been
informed by persons deserving credit, that the calamity
fell upon them in the first year of the rebellion through
the depredations of the Irish, and that they roasted men,

* Ib. p. 392.

CHAP. V. and eat them to supply their necessities*.” Owing to the confusion of the diction it is not immediately discernible in this passage, whether the natives roasted and eat each other, or were roasted and eat by their barbarous persecutors. But that these extremities were to be attributed to their acts, required all the assurance of Ludlow to assert after what he had related of the conduct of his own party. That the natives were reduced to the condition of cannibals, and preyed upon human bodies, appears by a passage quoted in the “Historical Memoirs,” &c. which exhibits one of the most disgusting scenes that can be imagined. I am induced to transcribe it, disgusting as it is, that my readers may be impressed with an adequate notion of the calamities of civil war, and the misery it brings on a country, particularly when the names of religion, and of a republic mingle in the contest. “About the years 1652 and 1653, the plague and famine had so swept away whole countries (an eye-witness speaks) that a man might travel twenty or thirty miles, and not see a living creature, either man, beast, or bird; they being either all dead, or had quit those desolate places: that our soldiers would tell stories of the place where they saw a smoke, it was so rare to see either smoke by day, or fire or candle by night. And when we did meet with two or three poor cabbins, none but very aged men, with women and children (and those, with the prophet might have complained ‘we are become as a bottle in the smoke, our skin is black like an oven, because of the terrible famine;’) I have seen those miserable creatures plucking stinking carrion out of a ditch, black and rotten; and been credibly informed that they digged corpses out of the grave to eat: but the most tragical story I ever heard was from an officer commanding a party of horse, who, hunting for Tories in a dark night, discovered a light, which they supposed to be a fire which the Tories usually made in those waste countries to dress their provisions, and warm themselves; but draw-

* Vol. i. p. 338, 339.

ing near, they found it a ruined cabbin, and besetting it round, some did alight, and peep in at the window, where they saw a great fire of wood, and a company of miserable old women and children sitting round about it, and betwixt them and the fire, a dead corpse lay broiling, which, as the fire roasted, they cut off collops and eat*." The reader will have seen by the foregoing relation, that in addition to the calamities of a merciless war, and desolating famine, the plague extended its ravages in all directions over Ireland at this period. We are indebted for some details on this last to Sir William Petty, who had raised an ample fortune amidst the general havoc. He does not advert to the desolation of the pestilence to deplore it, or condemn the excesses of his party.—Not a single sentiment of sympathy or remorse escapes him; but with the same tranquillity and composure as he would have surveyed the amount of the forfeited estates of which he had got a pretty large one, his tables of political arithmetic in his hand, he computes, that the plague in Dublin was two-thirds hotter than that which broke out in London some years after†. It is not to be wondered, after what has been related, that the population of the kingdom was nearly swept away, and that whole counties, such as the large and fertile county of Tipperary‡, were left almost entirely destitute of inhabitants. The wonder is that Ireland should have been able at all to recover itself. Yet from the restoration of the English constitution, a progress towards recovery took place;—for a long time very slow, at another period more accelerated, again retarded, but never wholly interrupted as long as that constitution continued to operate. The development of this truth will lead me to my conclusion, and show the benefit the kingdom has derived from the glorious Revolution with all its clogs and incumbrances, and point out

* Col. Laurence's Interest of Ireland, Second Part, p. 86, 87.

† Tracts, p. 314. The whole passage is really amusing from the extreme composure with which it is written.

‡ See before.

CHAP. V. the object to which all good Irishmen should press forward, now that its clogs and incumbrances are in a great measure removed, in order to complete its salutary results, and fill up the measure of its benefits.

It has been seen, that during the woeful progress of the Civil War, the ancient inhabitants were robbed of all their remaining possessions; and at the Restoration, the cold ungrateful policy of the restored Stuarts ratified all these extensive confiscations. Such confiscations could not fail of shaking the principle of property, and that sense of security in individuals that they shall enjoy the fruits of their industry, which was necessary to rouse men from long habitual sloth, and animate them to that exertion which the circumstances of their country required. A fresh source of evil followed from them, arising from the manners and customs of the Irish. The ejected proprietors, by a very natural and pardonable prejudice, while their deprivation was yet recent, could not be persuaded the lands did not still belong to them, and that they were not still gentlemen land-owners. They could not prevail upon themselves to embrace any course of industry to better their condition. Many of them retained their old title deeds, and with the help of these they made fanciful settlements on their wives and children. They ruminated on their pedigrees, and consoled themselves by talking of them. Their immediate necessities were supplied by cohering among their former tenants, who cheerfully, but with difficulty supported this double burthen of paying their rents, and maintaining their dispossessed landlords. To the landlords dispossessed by *the Act of Settlement* joined themselves others who had really wasted their patrimonies in riot and extravagance, and had made legal transfers of them, but were glad to mingle in the crowd of those who had suffered by parliamentary injustice.

It is not necessary to insist at any length on the influence of all these circumstances to preserve misery and poverty in the land, and counteract the operation of the English constitution. Yet, assisted and impelled forward

by its reanimating energies Ireland struggled, and successfully struggled against them, and continued making some advances towards prosperity up to the period of the Revolution. Even Catholics, notwithstanding the penal laws against them, made considerable acquisitions of property, and were induced to purchase under the *Act of Settlement*. These acquisitions, and these purchases could not have taken place without a stir of industry, and some progress in the career of public wealth. This progress must for some time have been checked, perhaps wholly driven back by the events connected with the Revolution, and, it must be owned, forming a part of it, in a fair extended sense of it.

The miseries of the war, and of the two winters of 1689 and 1690, were further increased in the winter of 1691, by the savage policy of the triumphant party. The Tories and Rapparees had again appeared, and committed insulated and desultory ravages and spoliations of property and murders as before. The party, whom the Revolution had armed with sovereign and uncontrolled power, and inspired with all the insolence of victory, and who had not forgotten the projects of destruction and extermination entertained by their immediate ancestors in 1641; in pursuance of these violent passions and principles of conduct, issued a proclamation, in which all individuals, soldiers, and others, were not only permitted, but encouraged by the promise of a reward, to murder whom they pleased, on whom they could fix the name of a Tory. The crimes that must have been committed, the blood that must have been shed under such a license, in the effervescence of party and religious passions, which was at its height just at that period, in the kingdom, may easily be imagined, and are admitted by the most fanatical of Protestant writers*. We picture to ourselves every, even the most profligate and sanguinary member of the ruling faction, slaying every Papist whom he disliked, and impudently claiming

* Harris.

CHAP. V. his £ 5. reward, for every head which he brought, or every
—— corpse which he could prove to have laid prostrate. The triumphant party did not stop here; but, in the reign succeeding, the Revolution, prevailed in carrying through a parliament of their own composition, the penal code, which Mr. Burke has so vehemently stigmatised, in defiance of the convention of Limerick, and of every principle of humane and just legislation. That the beneficent and healing spirit of the English constitution had much to do, to surmount the obstacles and difficulties, which such passions and such policy, and a code of laws of unexampled barbarity flowing from both, necessarily interposed, is a reflection which must strike every reader; but that, in point of fact, this constitution did, in a great degree, accomplish this victory, must appear to every one, who considers what Ireland was, when, after near a century, the more grievous part of the penal code was repealed, and attends to what it is at this day, when there are still some remains of it.

During the whole of the last century, while the entire of the penal code was pressing upon them, the Catholics of Ireland were successfully struggling against the pressure, and perceptibly rising into wealth and eminence in the several departments of life which were left open to them. If we compare their situation at the beginning of the period referred to, with what it was in 1782, the date of the repeal of the penal laws, we must be forcibly struck with this truth. In Swift's time, they were of so little importance, either as individuals, or as a body, that, I believe, they are not even referred to, or taken notice of in any of his various tracts of political controversy. Their gradual progress may be traced in Mr. Plowden's history, who has particularly occupied himself with this part of his subject. In 1782, they already possessed no small weight as a body, and had been courted for their support, by the several other parties in the state. In Swift's time, they hardly appear to have had any existence, although forming the bulk of the population of the country. Individuals

among them, in 1782, had risen even to lofty opulence. CHAP. V.
The most distinguished commercial firms, in the several mercantile towns, of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and Galway, were composed of Catholics. No sooner was the door opened to their acquiring landed property, than in the four several provinces of the kingdom, immense purchases were made by persons of that obnoxious persuasion. This can be attributed only to the protecting and fostering energies of the English constitution, which were extended even to the acquisitions of *their* industry. The discouragements they laboured under were enormous, but could not entirely counteract their effect. The spirit which they imparted was sufficient to bear up against them. Since the removal of a great part of the penalties which affected them, their progress, as might have been expected, has been accelerated in proportion. The Catholics of Ireland now constitute one of the most considerable bodies of men in the empire, as may be judged by the tone which they have assumed. I request my Irish reader attentively to weigh the sketch which I have traced of their history, and I promise myself they will be satisfied with these conclusions which I draw from it. Whatever disadvantages still hang over Ireland, whatever load still presses upon her, and counteracts the liberality of nature to her, are to be traced back, first to the pernicious laws and customs of her ancient inhabitants; secondly, to the persecutions carried on, for near two centuries, with the most elaborate and systematical barbarity, by the fanatical Protestant party, which took its rise in the kingdom in the reign of James I. The moral, resulting from these truths, is, that it is only by cultivating her union with Great Britain, effacing, as much as possible, whatever traces remain of her primitive customs and manners, becoming, to the highest degree, thoroughly and entirely English, that Ireland can hope to shake off the misery which still lingers among the humbler classes of her inhabitants, and, with the aid of some encouragements and regulations on the part of the govern-

CHAP. V. ment, which I shall take the liberty of pointing out, she
— may hope, by those just degrees which Providence has appointed to the prosperity of nations, to rise to an equality with the other communities of the European world, even to the flourishing condition of the sister island.

I have animadverted with a degree of severity, which some may be disposed to condemn, on the Protestant party in Ireland. I have bestowed the name of fanatical upon them, and have, in more than one place, taxed them with a spirit of persecution, compounded of avarice, and many political as well as religious passions. In these strictures, I have been solely guided by what I conceived the truth of history. The multiplied and almost incredible miseries of Ireland, in the seventeenth century, *the excesses of the rebellion*, on one side, and the horrors with which the unfortunate rebels were subdued, and almost exterminated, on the other, I have been led to consider as entirely arising from their atrocious views and projects. I may have been misled, but such is my conviction, on the most considerate perusal I have been able to give to the several documents in the controversy. On the penal code of Queen Anne, there can be no mistake. The authors of it are avowed, and the spirit which framed it, and prosecuted it, has excited the indignation of more than one eminent Protestant besides Mr. Burke. How it was surveyed by Dr. Johnson, may be seen in Boswell's history of that vigorous mind. In condemning, however, the Irish Protestants, on the score of liberal legislation, and even of common humanity, I have bestowed due praise on the spirit, zeal, and courage with which they adhered to the English government, against the Jacobite attempt at separation, and thereby preserved the empire entire. I have no hesitation in declaring it, as my firm opinion, that by this service they have more than redeemed all the wrongs which they inflicted on the Irish people. They blasted their prosperity for the time; but they left unimpaired, and even confirmed, in the soil the root from which their prosperity was again to grow up.

But they have performed their function, and the time is CHAP.V.
mature to establish due provision against those evil pas-
sions, which have not entirely ceased with their complete
and prescriptive establishment. Those passions must, no
doubt, have obtained no slender mitigation and correction
from the prescription which has sanctioned their esta-
blishment. The possessions which they acquired in the
beginning of the seventeenth century, are now ratified
by the highest authority—Time. The Act of Settlement
must, as I have said, be at present esteemed not only a part
of the municipal code, but a branch of the law of nature.
As their property can no longer be regarded an usurpation,
they must have discarded those fears and feverish feelings
which naturally haunt men whose recent possessions are
stigmatized with that name, and which will often break out
into what are deemed measures of precaution, but are in
reality measures of persecution and vengeance. Yet an
attempt was made at the beginning of the rebellion in
1798, to revive once more those fears and feelings by
bringing forward all the antiquated claims which dated so
far back as before any of the mutations of property in the
seventeenth century. In the beginning of the wicked
and profligate rebellion of 1798, a map was publicly
vended in Dublin under the title of *Ortelius improved*,
said to have been imported from abroad, where it had
lain since the period to which it referred, purporting to
exhibit the state of property, and the names of all the
proprietors in the kingdom in the reign of Elizabeth.
Some copies of this map, I understand, were greedily
bought up by individuals before government found means
to suppress its publication. It would have been difficult,
I believe, satisfactorily to authenticate it, and prove incon-
testably that it had undergone no change during the lapse
of time it had remained in some corner of the Continent,
under no official custody. Yet was it to have superseded
the Act of Settlement, annulled the title deeds of more
than two centuries, and set the whole property of the
kingdom afloat. The consequences of such an event in

CHAP. V. arresting the whole progress of Ireland, and in reality — destroying root and branch of its growing prosperity, need not be pointed out; and, therefore, the people of Ireland may perceive what they gained by the timely suppression of the rebellion. This attempt was not, however, attended with such effects as to have produced much alarm among the proprietors under the Act of Settlement. I never heard of the map I have adverted to, till a few months ago, when I met with an account of it in some statistical lucubrations on Ireland, published in the newspapers. It does not appear to have attracted much notice. I have a small map with the same title as the one referred to, *Ortelius improved*, executed by an antiquarian of some celebrity in Ireland, Charles O'Connor. It is merely a general delineation of the clans, tribes, or families, which possessed the several districts of the country in the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is, I suppose, very common. It can lead to no inference, or convey any information calculated to alarm the present race of proprietors. The titles founded on the enactments of the legislature since that period are no longer matters of controversy, and any spirit of malevolence or persecution which adhered to the ruling party, could not be excused by the apprehension of claims which time had completely extinguished. Yet some of this spirit of malevolence and persecution could, no doubt, be traced in many of their proceedings, for which there was no remedy, but the sinking of the local parliament of Ireland in that of the empire. This party constituted a decisive majority in both branches of the local parliament, and as the union of the kingdoms could not be preserved but by the adherence and support of the majority, a British minister was not only excusable, but it became actually his duty as such, to obtain it by any means whatsoever. Accordingly no means were spared.

An individual who possessed a seat in parliament, much more if he was master of any influence calculated to gain more than one vote, was to be gratified in any demands,

however extravagant, in any object of interest or passion, CHAP. V.
however unreasonable. I have heard, and believe, a
member of parliament received the pay of two volunteer
corps, though it could be proved that neither was in
existence. This, however, was an expensive way of
securing votes.—A cheaper, though less humane one,
which few ministers would much scruple, was, to indulge
the individuals and bodies of men composing the parlia-
mentary majority in any religious or political antipathies
which they might harbour, in any little schemes of general
or local persecution to which they might be fondly
attached. From the time the Protestant party gained a
complete establishment and ascendancy in Ireland, every
successive sovereign of England, whatever were his
personal inclinations, deemed it incumbent upon him, a
matter of necessary British policy, to consent to any
measure which they eagerly demanded. We have seen
that Charles II. notwithstanding the services of the
Catholic Irish population to his unfortunate father and to
his family, and all the claims of gratitude which they
possessed upon him, made an entire sacrifice of them to
their despoilers and oppressors in the matter of the *Act of
Settlement*. Even James II., notwithstanding his high
religious bigotry and fanaticism, was averse to its repeal.
It was the same policy which probably dictated to the
ministers of Queen Anne, their acquiescence in the bar-
barous penal code of her reign. As the Catholic party
rose in importance, and obtained some influence over the
parliamentary returns, the British ministry found they
might somewhat relax in this policy, and favour the means
of general amelioration for this part of the empire. Con-
cessions were made to the Catholics, flowing invariably, I
believe, from England, against the views and inclinations
of the Protestant ruling party in Ireland, to which their
consent in Parliament was extorted by the necessity the
party were under of maintaining their dependance upon
England, however they might indulge in occasional fits of
sullenness and mutiny to carry a favourite point. But

CHAP. V. the *Union* alone can fully enable the British minister to give the rein to his benevolence, or attend to those suggestions of wisdom, or even common sense, which point out to him the improvement of all classes of his Majesty's subjects, and all parts of the British empire, as the objects of his policy and measures.

Another advantage, and a most important one, which Ireland will have gained by the Union, is the gradual subsiding of a most pernicious spirit of fermentation, which was formerly observable pervading the whole community. The Irish are men of warm and lively imaginations, which produce in most of them a great readiness of speech, and a sort of natural eloquence. It must strike every one coming from England, who listens to the discourses even of the lowest peasantry. The same circumstance forces itself on observation as we ascend in the scale of society. The consequence was, that whilst there was a parliament in the Irish metropolis, there were no limits to the number of persons who deemed themselves qualified to shine as senators and legislators. Being able to make a speech was supposed the requisite qualification, and this qualification was profusely scattered among all classes of men. A certain forwardness and intrepidity in duelling was found likewise of great assistance in making a parliamentary fortune. It is certain, that, to the disgrace of government, the highest situations in law and state were upon more than one occasion conferred on determined duellists and gladiators. A young man in the country, who distinguished himself by any fluency of elocution, or attained considerable skill in the use of his pistols, called for his boots and case of pistols, and set out to Dublin to be a parliament man. He generally chose the profession of the law, not with a view of acquiring knowledge of the laws of his country, and imparting that knowledge to others, but as an avenue to the House of Commons, where he considered honours and fortune awaited him without having the fatigue of forensic labours to go through. Thus, an idle vapouring ambition was substituted in the

whole rising generation of Ireland, for those habits of industry which might add to the stock of national wealth and national improvement. Not only was a barren, unproductive ambition fomented and kept up, but the local parliament of Dublin became a rallying point for all the restless, unquiet spirits in the land. Some were bent upon reforming it, others were busy in discussing and reprehending its particular acts. A fever, more or less violent at different periods, raged in all the veins of the political body. Now, there is nothing which Ireland stands more in need of towards forwarding its prosperity, than a degree of tranquillity and composure, from which alone can arise useful, sober industry, commercial and manufacturing habits, alone calculated to remove the misery which cleaves to the lower classes of its inhabitants. Well may Ireland exclaim in the words of the poet, "Leave, oh leave me to repose!" Swift has said somewhere, with his usual high colouring of satire, that he who makes two ears of corn grow where only one grew before, does more to benefit his species than all the political theorists and system-mongers that ever existed. It may be said, without any high colouring or exaggeration whatsoever, that all the orators, and reformers, and proposers of projects in the Irish Parliament, did infinitely less good to their country than the merchant who employs so many poor people, or the country gentleman who carries on improvements which diffuse industry and wealth among his tenants.

Another beneficial effect of the Union, which may be expected, is, that by drawing Ireland closer to Great Britain, it will diffuse British customs and manners among the inhabitants, and gradually wear away those remains of their old primitive habits which still infest them. If the memory of their barbarous ancestors who bequeathed to them so large a portion of poverty and misery could be entirely sunk and abolished; if the O'Shaugnassy's, the O'Driscols, and the rest of that tribe were for ever forgotten; if the whole bundle of Irish manuscripts, pedigrees, histories, and traditions was finally to perish, abundant

CHAP. V. good would be done to the country. They only serve to nourish and foment vanity, idleness, and many customs extremely pernicious, hostile to industry and the means of prosperity. The old Irish hospitality which has been so much celebrated, and which derives its pedigree from the custom of *coshering*, is attended with many evil effects. It contributes to preserve in being a race of gentlemen, as they call themselves, who, too poor to support themselves, are however much above any commercial or manufacturing profession. I have known some of them, without home, wander for months together from house to house without the ceremony of an invitation. They eat and drank freely every where, and it would be deemed a great infraction of hospitality to show them by any indication that they were not welcome. An old gentlewoman carried this *coshering* in my neighbourhood to the most impudent degree. She contrived to get a vehicle called a car, on which she embarked herself, and all her effects, which amounted to a considerable load. She had it directed to the first house in her progress, and from that house she stoutly declared she would not stir, till after being entertained there for a considerable time, a car and horse were procured for her to transport her and her baggage to some other house in the neighbourhood, where she took up her abode under the same imperative conditions.

Finally, till Ireland becomes thoroughly British, her progress in wealth and prosperity will be slow, and suffer innumerable checks and obstructions. I cannot, therefore, commend the wisdom of those men who have taken pains to preserve and extend the knowledge of the Irish language. If this language could be obliterated entirely among the people, an important benefit would be conferred. It maintains a sullen line of separation between the peasantry of Ireland and the British community; it keeps up the memory of their barbarous ancestors, with the long train of pernicious customs, prejudices, and notions descended from them. Dr. Johnson and other

zealous philologists have said, that no dialect ever spoken among mankind ought to be suffered to be lost, as the loss must narrow the basis of analogy on which the philosophy of languages is to be supported. I have, therefore, no objection to any idle man who chuses to amuse himself in his closet with the study of Irish. I respect the memory of the late General Vallancey, who, though born in England, spent all his life in Irish researches. His attempt to explain the unintelligible passages in Plautus, where a Carthaginian slave is introduced, by the Irish language, is curious. With what ingenuity it is pursued, I cannot form a judgment. But I confess I feel no respect for the testamentary disposition of the late Mr. Flood to establish a professorship of the Irish language in the college of Dublin. I would not be instrumental in thus fixing and supporting what I conceive a most pernicious dialect. If it were possible to pump St. George's Channel dry, and unite the two islands physically, it ought to be done at whatever expense. As this exceeds the power of man, every bond, every principle of moral and political connection ought to be studiously cultivated by the patriot Irishman. Fortunate will be the day for Ireland when the two nations are undistinguishably blended and amalgamated in language, manners, and customs, as well as laws and government. Then alone will the Irish people be truly emancipated. They will be emancipated from that primitive barbarism which still lingers among them, and more than any other cause keeps them lazy and consequently poor and miserable. All other remedies proposed are only quackeries, or at least palliatives. The entire union I look forward too, once consummated, the source of the evil will have been cut off, and this, I expect as the consequence of the political legislative union which was enacted at the end of the last century. On this principle I regard the measure with predilection and fondness, and considering it as flowing from the *Revolution*, some reflections on it naturally fall into the plan of its history. Others who contemplate things under a

CHAP. V. different aspect will arrive at opposite conclusions. I
——— condemn no man;—I only state my own opinions.

That much has been done in Ireland since the Union I will not assert, but I think something has been effected. One pernicious consequence which might have been apprehended from it has evidently not taken place. It might have been thought, that by banishing the scene of national oratory, the local parliament, the arts of national eloquence would have suffered, and this inference might have been deduced from one of the schemes of reasoning I pursued in defending the Union. But the fact is a splendid contrast to the supposition. The body of the law in which those arts have taken refuge, exhibits in its ranks men whom Tully, did he understand the English language, would listen to not only with pleasure but rapture. The same glowing imagination is to be traced as in the best days of the Irish parliament, only corrected and chastened by a severer taste. There are young men, born, I may say, since the Union, and who cannot remember the parliament in question, nor, of course, have derived any stimulatives from it, who have arrived not merely at the promise, but in reality, at the maturity of finished orators. I could name some who visit in their circuits the part of Ireland in which I reside. It is pleasing to observe copies of the purest *models of Athens and Rome*, scholars deeply imbued with their spirit, and fashioned by their taste, in a remote part of the world, which little more than a century ago was supposed inaccessible to the most common arts of civilization.

However, it must be owned, one bad consequence has resulted from the Union, and it may be apprehended, it will every day extend further. This event has undoubtedly increased the number of unthinking Irishmen who leave their native country and wander abroad in search of amusements which they think they cannot find at home. The splendid gaiety of the capital has suffered no inconsiderable diminution. Men of high rank and fortune, no longer fixed by a resident parliament, have deserted it, and Dublin

has sunk, in a great degree, in the character and quality CHAP. V.
of its amusements and the description of persons who
partake in them. This is particularly observable in its
environs, which some time ago might rival those of any
capital in Europe. Splendid villas and country houses, once
the abode of rank and fashion, are converted into schools
and seminaries; and beautiful demesnes, that had been
decorated with all that art and money could supply,
neglected, and often broken up. For this, I do not know
that any adequate remedy can be found. I am afraid it is
impossible, by any law, to fix a people to a particular
country, or stop emigration occasioned by circumstances
beyond the reach of legislative enactments. But I know
the evil will be infinitely aggravated if the minister of
finance shall direct his impositions in the manner he has
done lately, if the weight of taxes shall be made to press
so heavily on those gentlemen who are content to reside
in their country seats, occupied with agricultural and
other improvements. Those improvements, which have
such a tendency to disseminate wealth among the lower
classes, and spread an air of civilization over the face of the
land, will be stopped in their infancy, and when these are
thus arrested in their progress, the effect in the decline of
the country will be perceptible. The gentlemen who be-
fore resided at home will have emigrated, and the poor
man, in consequence, be deprived of all employment. It
is to be considered, that Ireland does not afford such
means of economy to a family as England. A country
gentleman cannot live without a very large domestic
establishment. There is a system of manners which no
individual can possibly shake off. Rents are obtained
with much difficulty, and at uncertain periods. A person
said to be worth one thousand pounds a year in Ireland,
stands in a very different situation from the person of the
same description in England. The Englishman may
depend on what he is to receive; the Irishman gets in
his money in small sums, and frequently, at no small
expense; so that the tax, which the one can support, will

CHAP. V. absolutely crush the other, though both *nominally* possess the same income. These considerations are well worthy of the attention of the imperial legislature in apportioning the public burdens between the two countries. The object cannot be, to wring out as much revenue as possible for the present, without any regard to the means which are to feed and support it in future. This would be following the custom of the savages, taken notice of by Montesquieu, who cut down the tree in order to get at the fruit. Ireland requires a certain degree of nursing. Her agriculture is woefully sunk. If, when the gentleman can get little or no rent from his tenants, he is called upon to pay immense contributions to the state, he must be destroyed, and with him, the prosperity of the country, the source of future revenue. The English testify no little impatience that the burden of taxation should fall chiefly upon them. Let them reflect how long England supported the whole civil and military establishment of Ireland, when Ireland brought scarcely any thing to her exchequer. In the reign of Edward III. the whole revenue drawn from Ireland did not exceed ten thousand pounds a year*. The statesmen of that day did not consider the country merely in a fiscal point of view. They were content to be losers for the time, on the mere score of finance. Yet they could scarcely have anticipated all the advantages which the empire has derived, and the still greater which it is likely to derive from Ireland. Allowed some time to erect her prosperity on a firm basis, she will contribute amply to the general exigencies. But if checked and driven back in her growth, she will only continue a burden which England must submit to, as she cannot leave her to fall under a foreign dominion. If the system of taxation is properly adjusted, and made to lean as little as possible on the resident gentleman, it may be fairly hoped, the emigration of Ireland will be stopped, at least not increased. Men will open their eyes to the superior consequence

* Davies's Tracts, p. 29.

and more respectable character which they enjoy in their native country, instead of exposing themselves to the mockery and sneers of those they live among, who maliciously observe, they have no business there. Some will be brought back by the high course of exchange. To young men of large fortunes, on whom such consideration can have no influence, I would humbly represent, that if they would make the experiment, they would find more true amusement at home than what the most luxurious capital can supply. A course of improvements on their estates, would more effectually release them from the pressure of what the French call *ennui*, and which particularly torments them, than lounging in foreign capitals, transferring their listless persons from one public assemblage to another. What smiles of pleasure light up the countenance of the man who surveys the prosperity which he has created.—No repetition tires him. The same scene over and over again, possesses fresh charms for him. As I have seen the late Marquis of Sligo, traversing in the carriage to which his infirmities confined him, the streets of the town which was rising under his care, surveying the fields he had rescued from the ocean, the mountains he had reclaimed from uncouth barrenness and clothed with harvests. Every time new pleasure was discernible in his eye.

If any man is touched by a sentiment of ambition, what nobler ambition can there be than thus to cultivate and improve the property assigned to him by heaven, the country of his birth, the people for whose benefit he is destined? Peter of Russia became immortal by similar acts; and the private individual, who, on a smaller scale, is occupied in a similar manner, may consider himself as a partaker in his godlike pastimes, as a rival, though an humble one, of his splendid fame. If ever the day arrives, when the proprietors of Ireland shall generally reside at home, then will the *Union* operate as an unmixed good, and the Revolution of 1691 have its full salutary effect. Some approaches to this desirable state are discernible. The first of the Irish

CHAP. V. nobility, the Duke of Leinster, passes much of his time in — his own country. There is still a great appearance of opulence in the capital, and it must be allowed to have greatly extended in size, and risen in magnificence since the Union. New public buildings attract the eye in every direction.—The quays have been entirely new built, and present as handsome a range as is to be seen in any capital. I am informed, Cork and Limerick, and other towns, have, since the event which was lamented at the time as the destruction of Ireland, put on every appearance of improvement and embellishment. I can mention from personal knowledge in my own neighbourhood, the little town of Westport, which already rivals a provincial town of England in neatness, convenience, and other advantages, though comparatively an inconsiderable place before the Union.

Two other measures naturally connected with the Union I would suggest, which I conceive of the utmost importance to the progress of Ireland. The agriculture of the country must be relieved. All I could say on this subject, is compressed in a petition which I drew up at the request of the gentlemen of my county, on occasion of the Corn Bill, and in which I introduced some observations on the staple manufactures of Ireland, the raising and preparation of flax, and the fabrication of linens. I print it by way of Appendix. The remedy which has often been pointed out for the agricultural distresses of the country is, for every landlord to lower the rents of his estate. But this is evidently no remedy at all. It is in the present state of things *an indispensable* arrangement, but it nowise corrects other evils, and is an evil in itself. If the tenant cannot get a better price for his produce, he cannot pay the rent he did. Landlords have been severely censured for getting the best rents they could, and a judge on the Irish bench has gone so far as almost to justify, or at least, excuse insurrection and revolt on the principle of the high rents obtained. The appointment of this man to the place of judge, it is evident from his

uniform language, reflects no honour on the party in the state to whose patronage he owes it. But why is it a matter of obligation on a landlord any more than upon any other member of the community to neglect his interests, and refuse the best price the market affords him? When there is an eager competition for his land, why is he bound to refuse the highest bidding, and acquiesce in a lower offer? It would be thought a strange order to a vender of wool going to a fair or market. "There are many who will offer you such a price for a bag of wool, but you shall not take it, as we conceive it much too high." Yet this is the regulation proposed for the proprietors of land. CHAP. V.

The petition I publish shows, I hope, how high rents contribute to the prosperity of very inferior classes of the community. They return in different ways to the very persons who pay them. They must now be considerably reduced; but this will not take place without a stoppage to many beneficial improvements in the country, and the drying up of many channels of commercial and manufacturing industry. My petition, it seems, was prophetic, when it indicated the loss which the manufacturers in England would sustain by the low price of corn in Ireland, involving in it a diminution of the rents. The demand for their commodities in the Irish market, has very much abated, and a fresh abatement may be expected every succeeding year.

The true remedy for the agricultural distresses of Ireland, is to provide, if possible, an adequate substitute for the markets, which have been closed by the cessation of hostilities in the European world. The market of Great Britain ought to be reserved exclusively for her. The British statesman is, we may promise ourselves, by this time convinced, that in promoting the prosperity of Ireland, he promotes the prosperity of his own country. Now, in what way can this prosperity be best promoted? by converting Ireland entirely into an agricultural country. It is the mode of industry best adapted to the con-

CHAP. V. dition of her people. They have not a capital for commercial or manufacturing enterprises. Let Great Britain pursue these, and let Ireland be the granary of the empire, as Sicily was in ancient times to Rome. For the ingenious products of British industry and British art, let Ireland bring the growth of her fields, the corn which agriculture has raised. The raising of corn will have another beneficial effect upon Ireland; it will, in a great degree, exclude the culture of the potatoe, or, at least, divide with it the feeding of the people.

The potatoe-plant was imported into Ireland about the end of the sixteenth century, when the barbarous Irish chieftains denounced curses on all who should till the soil, or sow seed, when the effect of a long preceding system of barbarous institutions and manners was discernible in universal habits of laziness, and a corresponding state of poverty and misery. The easy cultivation of this plant naturally pointed it out as the food of a lazy population. I find a man will, in one day, plant what will produce a barrel of potatoes, and this barrel, so produced, will support a family of six persons, with very little economy, for near a month. Such extreme facility of food must, in the ordinary course of things, be injurious to a country. It supersedes the necessity of prudence, *foresight*, and economy, in the establishment of a family;—it will, of course, create a superabundant population, which will linger on in misery, amidst dirt, slovenliness, and laziness. Yet, perhaps, it has been, on the whole, beneficial to Ireland. It has effectually counteracted the very many positive checks to population, arising from the circumstances of the country, and its full force and operation was wanting in the seventeenth century, when, as has been related, the combined calamities of the most destructive war, famine, and pestilence, had nearly exterminated the whole people. Such ravages never could have been repaired; such a frightful chasm never could have been filled, had not this facility of procuring sustenance induced individuals to marry without much pause or hesitation, and thereby mul-

tiplied the species a good deal, in the manner described CHAP. V. by Sir John Davies, speaking of the ancient Irish, in a passage already quoted. A poor Irishman is sure of plenty for the children he will beget, and, as he has no regard to neatness, cleanliness, or comfort, he falls to the business of propagation without thought or reflection. I remember a miserable, lame beggar, some years ago, who used to travel about the country, attended by a whole colony of his own begetting. He had, early in life, met with some young woman, as poor and inconsiderate as himself, and this was the offspring of their lusty embraces, for the support of which they trusted to the coarse abundance of the potatoe board, which they found spread out in every cottage, and which they and their spawn divided, with the pigs and other domestic animals of the family.

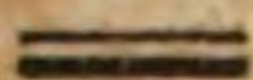
By making Ireland a granary for the empire, the people will be led to corn for a principal part of their food, and the most essential improvement be produced, in orderly habits, in thought and foresight, restraining marriages, and operating as the moral checks recommended by Mr. Malthus, in his very ingenious treatise. As we now look forward to a long period of peace, these checks become the more necessary. The demands of the army and navy, in the complicated warfare from which we have just escaped, carrying away much of the wretched superabundant population of Ireland; the arrangements for encouraging the grain of the kingdom, could not have been carried into effect by a local parliament, with a jurisdiction restrained to the limits of the island. These arrangements must, of necessity, embrace different portions of the empire, and had not the *Union* taken place, the very prospect of them must have been excluded.

Another measure, which the *Union* facilitates, is removing the complaints of the Catholic majority of the population, and blending them with the general stock of the empire, by assimilating them in circumstances and condition. This is the great benefit to be expected from the measure, by the empire at large—consolidation and union.

CHAP. V. In this point of view, it seems like the natural offspring
——— and consequence of the junction of the parliaments. It is the development of a plan, or grand legislative conception, of which the parliamentary union was only the beginning, or, as it were, first step. It follows, that the manner in which it is to be conceded, will be to promote coalition and union. No harsh conditions ought to be insisted on—no terms, grating or humiliating to any of the parties. There should be no obstinate or pedantic adhesion to any particular set of terms; all should be disposed and arranged to soothe, to reconcile, to blend. But, on this very principle, any scheme, founded professedly on views of disunion and separation, should be steadily resisted. I repeat it, relief to the Irish Catholics should be made to co-operate with the Revolution and Union, in effacing lines of separation, in assimilating and amalgamating all portions of his Majesty's subjects. I perceive, with pleasure, that this view of the subject has not escaped the framers of a petition, which was presented, last session of parliament, from the most distinguished members of the Catholic persuasion in Ireland.

I most sincerely lament this petition did not meet with more attention from the legislature; and I fervently pray, the present session may not close, without the *testimony* of substantial relief to the excellent spirit which it breathes. This prayer comes from one who has no object but the good of his country, according to the best views he has been able to take of it. He now concludes his task, having related, with impartiality and candour, the particulars of the Irish Revolution of 1691, which was the consummation of the great Revolution of the empire.

POSTSCRIPT.



READING over again Mr. Fox's work, which I must ever read with fresh pleasure, on account of the ease and simple elegance of the style, just as this history was nearly printed off, I observed, that in summing up the character of Monmouth, he concurs in the animadversions on his proclamation, which I had transcribed from Bishop Burnet. I had suffered my attention to be arrested by the passage in which he mentions the event of its being issued, and in which his strictures are sufficiently lenient. I wish I could make a similar discovery, in respect of any of the other passages in his work, on which I have thought it my duty to remark. I should be delighted to find I had misconceived his meaning.



THE REVOLUTION

The Revolution of 1688-1689 was a significant event in British history. It resulted in the overthrow of James II and VII and the installation of William III and Mary II. The revolution was a result of the growing power of the Parliament and the desire for a more constitutional monarchy. The revolution led to the Bill of Rights of 1689, which established the principles of parliamentary sovereignty and the rights of the individual. The revolution also led to the Act of Union of 1706, which united Scotland and England into a single kingdom. The revolution was a turning point in British history, marking the beginning of the modern British state.

APPENDIX.

Petition from the County of Mayo to the House of Commons, on the Corn Bill, and the Transit Duty on Foreign Linens, written by the Author, at the request of the Gentlemen of the County.

WE, the undersigned, your petitioners, inhabitants of the county of Mayo, approach your honourable House with the confident hope, the sincere expectation, that your protecting care will be equally extended to every portion of the empire, or that if any leaning or partiality should find admittance into so august an assembly, it will be in favour of the weak and the distressed, of those who, by some cause or other, have been bereaved of their full share in the general prosperity.

That this is in a great degree the condition of the kingdom of which we are inhabitants, is a truth but too visibly impressed on every part of its territory. It is unnecessary, and would perhaps be indecent to enter into details on so melancholy a subject. It forces itself on the observation of all travellers who come to Ireland after visiting countries far less favoured in soil and climate and geographical situation. Inquirers and speculators have hazarded a diversity of conjectures on the causes which have to that degree counteracted the bounty of nature, and the genial influence of British laws and British institutions; and remedies have been proposed, more or less marked with precipitate decision, partaking in a greater or less degree of the character of political empiricism. Of these miscalled remedies, some the sober considerate wisdom of the legislature had already peremptorily rejected, others founded on better principles, and of a milder temper, the same wisdom hesitates to adopt. But whatever may be thought of the remote causes of poverty and distress, there can be no doubt as to the immediate efficient one, which is, a comparative want of industry and enterprise in all parts of the Irish community. A system of pasturage generally prevails in the kingdom, superseding the more busy and enriching arts of agriculture. To this a temporary remedy appears to have arisen

— from the events of the last twenty years. The warfare which involved so many nations of the world, by enhancing the price of grain, conferred a premium on agriculture, and thereby operated as a stimulative to the best and most useful industry, in all parts. The effects are amply visible in our country. Acre after acre has been withdrawn from pasturage, and transferred to the plough. A discernible improvement has taken place in the lower orders of our people. Better and more commodious dwellings have arisen, a more decent raiment is observable in the lowest peasantry. What have been the advantages in strength and security to the whole empire, it is not for us to point out. Notwithstanding the increased burthens attendant on a state of warfare, we have been slowly, gradually, but really and effectually struggling into wealth and prosperity. War with its long train of evils, produced this good : but peace has put an end to the stimulative. The extraordinary price of grain has ceased, and we are threatened with the sudden destruction of our growing system of agriculture, and all the benefits we derived from it, unless your provident wisdom interposes.

We humbly submit it to your consideration, that the only means of supporting our agriculture, and remedying the poverty and distress of our country, is to secure the home market to the produce of our fields, to the exclusion of foreigners.

Many foreign countries possess advantages in the raising of corn, with which it is absolutely impossible for us to contend. Immense tracts of land paying scarcely any thing in the shape of rent extend in all directions, a whole unappropriated continent stretches out. We must inevitably be undersold by such countries, when our corn comes to the market loaded with a heavy rent, the consequence and mark of civilization. Unreflecting men have argued against the object of our Petition in a manner palpably sophistical. They single out a particular year, and exclaim this year bread will be cheaper by admitting foreign grain; but can the cheapness of one year be put in the balance with the diffused and average reduction of price on a computed number of years, which must be the result where the population of the empire may reckon on a supply from the empire itself, independent of the fluctuations of capricious or hostile policy.

This avidity for immediate cheapness, we observe to prevail chiefly in your manufacturing towns, and the short-

sighted multitude have loudly proclaimed their disposition to obtain it, though evidently at the expense of the prosperity, almost of the existence, of other portions of the community, in particular of the people of this country, constituting so large a branch of the population of the empire. Their clamours may be somewhat interrupted, if not entirely stopped, by the reflection which we beg leave to recal to their minds, that from this country, from this disregarded branch of the empire, from the taste and liberal disposition of our nobility and gentry, has their manufacturing industry, and all the arts subservient to it, received no small support and encouragement. It would be, perhaps, difficult to point out any nobility and gentry in the world, among whom a taste for elegant expense more eminently prevails. Yet this taste must die away, with the means of supporting it, which are no other than the rents of our lands, growing out of the improvements of our agriculture. If, therefore, the corn, raised in the fields of Ireland, should become a mere drug, which it is the object of your petitioners to prevent, the manufacturers of England may suffer in a way they do not seem immediately aware of; they may find the cheapness of this and that year, so eagerly and inconsiderately pursued, more than balanced by the reduction of their wages; perhaps, by the effect of throwing numbers out of all employment. Thus the rents of the highest, operate really and substantially, though perhaps secretly and circuitously, on the condition of the lowest members of the community.

We humbly, but earnestly implore your honourable House, that, influenced by these considerations of justice and sound comprehensive policy, you will be pleased to pass into a law, the bill now depending before you, for prohibiting the importation of foreign corn, but in certain specified circumstances; and we rely implicitly on your wisdom, to render these circumstances still more rigid against foreigners, if the effect of their artifices and management on the markets, and the proportionable distress of our own agricultural interest shall evidently require it.

There is another subject, on which our apprehensions have been, in no slight degree, excited, and we cannot forbear intreating your attention to it, on this occasion of approaching you.

No nation can hope to support its industry without some species of manufacture coming to the assistance of its agriculture. From peculiar circumstances, our manufacturing industry has, for centuries, revolved within a

— very narrow circle. The manufacture of wool we have wholly surrendered to our sister kingdom, cheerfully sending the raw, unmanufactured produce of our sheep, to be wrought by the English artist. We were, however, satisfied with the portion allotted to us, in the raising and dressing of flax, and the manufacture of linens, a branch of industry not ill adapted to the circumstances of a poor country, by the employment which it affords to the women and children. This was a source of abundant wealth to this kingdom, and, consequently, a considerable accession to the resources of the empire. In this single county it produced *, distributed among different classes of its inhabitants.

Our prosperity did not so blind us, as to shut out from us the conviction, that many nations on the continent of Europe would be able to undersell us in this our staple manufactory. Without entering into any detail upon the subject, we need only advert to the single circumstance of taxation which presses so much more heavily upon us than upon the continental nations. This, no doubt, is the result of our greatness, of the high rank, the empire of which we form a part, holds among states; but such is the effect. The burthens we sustain must carry their impression on all the productions of our industry, on all the works of our hands. But notwithstanding the more favourable circumstances of continental Europe, we supported ourselves, by considering the slender means of navigation which it possesses, and that as the *linens* of the continent cannot find their way to the commercial world but through the intervention of Great Britain, it will always be in the power of Great Britain to contrive such arrangements as will give us the means of successful competition. The objects of these arrangements, we conceived, completely attained, by what is known by the name of the transit duty on foreign linens. Your honourable House will judge of our surprise and consternation, when we heard that a proposition had been made to abrogate this duty, the immediate consequence of which measure must be the extinction of our only manufacture, one of the great supports of the industry and comforts of our people.

To condemn a large portion of the empire to unqualified poverty and distress, would appear an undertaking requiring

* This was filled up by a most respectable merchant, in Westport, largely concerned in the linen trade of the country. I did not retain the sum in my copy, and I am unable to recollect it.

no less abundant resources of argument to lend a colour to, than boldness and a spirit of unfeeling enterprise to meditate. Yet the whole argument by which the proposed abrogation has been attempted to be justified, resolves itself into an assertion which we maintain to be without foundation, at least, as applied to any extent of cases. The assertion is, that the continental nations will be able to send their linens to the markets of the other hemisphere, without the intervention of Great Britain, and that if Great Britain does not allow them a free passage, they will find one, on their own bottoms. A ship entirely freighted with linens, must be a very rare instance, and it is only by joining them with other goods, and thus composing a freight, that the foreign linen merchant can, for the most part, send his linens to a distant market. This, with the number of ships sailing from British ports, must ever induce him to make Britain the intermediate stage in his dealings, even at the expense of the duty exacted from him.

Such is the argument under which we are threatened to be robbed of the great source of our industry and wealth, of our very subsistence; and this, when our burthens have been heavily increased, and when we are on the eve of being called upon to bear our proportion in the general taxation of the empire.

But our confidence in the protecting care of your honourable House is too deep rooted to allow any apprehensions arising from such shallow sophistry, long to weigh upon our minds. To that protecting care we commit ourselves. As applied to England, it has watched over her manufacturing industry with parental vigilance, and interposed abundance of provisions to guard and secure it from the inroads of foreign competition. Thereby has the kingdom risen to unexampled prosperity and opulence. We will not harbour the thought or suspicion, that you will not be guided by a similar principle of policy, when contemplating the rising industry and prosperity of a country less favoured by circumstances, but equally subject to your government, and equally entitled to your protection.

FINIS.



Moore, Thomas

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